The Forum

OCTOBER, 1900.

THE PARAMOUNT ISSUES OF THE CAMPAIGN.

It is the misfortune of the Democratic party of the United States that the questions which it has hitherto looked upon as important are no longer debatable. The issue of 1892 and the issue of 1896 sleep together peacefully. Each in its time was supreme: to-day both are extinct. They have descended by a regular scale: first paramount, then secondary, and at last obsolete.

The issue of free trade, always hidden under smooth phrases about tariff reform, carried the Democratic party to success in 1892. That victory was the cruelest thing that could have happened to the free trade propaganda, for it immediately put the doctrine to the test of experience. For twenty years it had enjoyed the respectability that belongs to libraries, university lecture rooms, pamphlets, and eloquent remarks. From that day it had to stand trial in open court, confronted by the witnesses against it; and by the time Mr. Cleveland indignantly refused to sign the tariff law of 1894, it was waiting for the condemnation of the American people. Mr. Bryan helped to frame that law, and the only reason that in 1896 it did not become an issue superior to all others was that it did not have a friend left on earth. The principles involved in it had become odious, and the tide which afterward became irresistible had already set in toward the popular leader who framed the tariff act of 1890.

Under these circumstances the Democratic party stood dazed and helpless. Their majority in the House of Representatives had dwindled to an insignificant remnant; and the campaign speeches which

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before had stirred the prejudices of the country against the administration of Benjamin Harrison had become more worthless for political purposes than the cries of the fish market.

When we consider that in order to have a political campaign it is necessary for both sides to have something to talk about, it is no wonder that the Chicago convention in 1896 set up another issue as paramount. The free coinage of silver furnished a subject, and the convention selected Mr. Bryan to present it, on account of the extraordinary skill and power with which he interpreted to the delegates their own convictions and emotions on the matter. Nor is it remarkable that the scheme of bogus bimetallism, put forward there as a panacea for hard times, attracted so great a following throughout the country. It was a time of trouble, of business disaster, of wrecked fortunes, of shrivelled investments, of unemployed labor; and behind all these the American farmer stood under his burden of debt, disheartened by the daily reports of a bankrupt market-place. Such was the state of affairs when Mr. Bryan spoke on his paramount issue in 1896. It will remain an everlasting vindication of popular institutions that the American people, rising above the misery that surrounded them, took a just and rational measure of this issue; choosing rather to guard the national integrity from reproach than to enjoy the doubtful advantages of 16 to 1 for a season.

It will not be denied that Mr. Bryan made a brave and picturesque fight. The very boldness of the man attracted attention; and through all his speeches there ran a distinct line of sincerity, which made even his light predictions of the future seem to multitudes like the inspired prophecies of old. He was brave in disaster; for immediately after the election he issued an address to the "Bimetallists of the United States, saddened by temporary defeat." Remembering how thickly he had scattered his predictions about the railway stations of the United States, he felt the sobering influence of the fact that his fine-spun philosophies were at length to meet the test of experience. He was not wanting in confidence. "In the face of an enemy rejoicing in its victory," he called the roll for the next engagement. "The friends of bimetallism have not been vanquished," he declared; "they have simply been overcome. They believe that the gold standard is a conspiracy of the money changers against the welfare of the human race, and they will continue the warfare against it. Events will prove whether they are right or wrong. Our opponents," he added, "have succeeded in this campaign and must put their theories to the test."

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It will be admitted by every one whose mind is at all adapted to the consideration of such a subject, that the last four years have played sad havoc with the prophetic literature of Mr. Bryan's last campaign. If the patriarch Noah had predicted a drought instead of a deluge, and had advocated a system of irrigation instead of building an ark, his friends and relatives would have had less reason to complain of him than Mr. Bryan's disciples now have to complain of their leader. He said that if the gold standard were continued prices would still further decline. But the prices of all products of labor have gone steadily up. He said that wages would decrease, and the employment of people, even then precarious, would still further fail. But wages have increased until, if we may believe Mr. Carroll D. Wright, they have reached the highest mark yet known in our industrial history, while the employment of the people is now universal and uninterrupted. Mr. Bryan said that the burden of debt would be multiplied by the increase of interest rates and the scarcity of money. But money was never so plentiful, and interest rates, tending still lower, were never so low before.

It is not claimed that things are going as well in the United States as could be wished; but it is not too much to say that things are going so much better than Mr. Bryan predicted that the general confidence in him as an apostle of the national deliverance has quite generally disappeared. Nobody doubts that his opinions on the subject of the free coinage of silver were sincere, and that very fact determines the issue of this campaign. There may be a wide difference of opinion as to the causes of the present prosperity of the people; but there is one thing which cannot be disputed, and that is, that the standard of value upon which the whole fabric of American business rests cannot be disturbed, or even put in serious jeopardy, without producing results fatal to the employment, investments, and enterprises of the whole community. The Democratic party has not put aside the silver question, because it has recanted its faith in the platform of 1896. It has begun talking about something else, simply because the old subject has become tiresome, and because the audience is so scattered that it is beyond even the eloquence of Mr. Bryan to bring them together again.

If any man doubts the real purpose that is in the minds of Democratic leaders, and the real motive that would control Mr. Bryan's administration, if he were elected President, let him recall the fact that while the Kansas City Convention was sitting Mr.

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Bryan staked his political life on a demand, telephoned from his home at Lincoln, that the platform of 1896 should be re-stated in the exact terms which he invented for use in the last presidential campaign. His success, therefore, whatever else it may mean, foreshadows the exact legislation and administrative policy required to overthrow the gold standard and plunge the country into new agitations, fatal at once to industry and commerce. It is in vain for men who have a stake in the national prosperity, whether they work for their living by the day or enjoy the dividends of invested capital, to silence their apprehensions by believing that the financial law of 1900, enacted by the Republican party against the protest of the Democrats in both houses of Congress, has made it safe to vote the Democratic ticket again. The Secretary of the Treasury has given to the business world a timely admonition, that notwithstanding the new provisions of law, a single act of executive folly may, even now, throw away all the fruits of the victory of 1896.

Four years ago Mr. Bryan was denouncing President Cleveland because, in the discharge of his duty, he permitted those having claims against the treasury, payable in coin, to choose either gold or silver at the counter. To-day Mr. Bryan refuses even to open his mouth when the question is squarely presented to him whether, if elected President, he will follow that example. Before that question, in which are wrapped up not only the earnings but the savings of American labor, this gifted orator, whose voice never before failed him, is silent as the grave. Nor does any one come forward to speak for him, unless the recent remarks of Mr. Carl Schurz may be thought by some to have been spoken in Mr. Bryan's interest. It is, to be sure, a little puzzling to find Mr. Schurz, while yet the memory of his unanswerable denunciation of Bryanism is fresh in the public mind, coming forward to reassure his friends that even after Mr. Bryan is elected it will not be beyond the power of the Republican party, in the short session of Congress, to bind him hand and foot, in order to reduce to a minimum his ability to destroy the prosperous conditions which now surround us.

There are others, not without interest in the industrial welfare of the people, who justify their support of Mr. Bryan by the reflection that in the present state of the law his administration of the treasury department would be safe, because no statute could be enacted within four years authorizing a departure from the existing standard of value. All such ought to be warned that Mr. Bryan's

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election as President would carry with it, undoubtedly, a majority of the House; and it is certain also that a reversal of public opinion so momentous would find a speedy expression in the Senate of the United States. There are in this world pious persons whose mission leads them to visit unfortunates who are in prison, and to cheer up those condemned to death with the benignant consolation that they are not to be hanged for some time yet.

If the election now about to occur should leave the industries and commerce of this people under sentence of death, suspended to await the action of the Senate, there would be plenty of business for all charitably disposed persons whose influence contributed to the verdict. As the campaign proceeds it becomes more and more evident that there is only one issue of supreme significance to the people of the United States. The question is whether the fortunate and happy condition which now surrounds the American people shall be deliberately voted down. That question concerns every business in the United States, enters into the homes of the whole community, and must be answered upon the judgment and conscience of all. It is not a party question. Four years ago we saw in the United States a victory won for sound principles, in which men of all political parties had a share. That victory had a moral significance hard to overestimate. It was a notice served upon agitators, mischief makers, demagogues, and political leaders of all trades, that whoever attacks the integrity of American business must settle his account, not with a political party, but with the national character of America. It ought to have taught political managers also that they will not be permitted to conceal their motives, hide their purposes, and cover their plans by the invention of imaginary issues, made paramount only by the distraction and confusion of party counsels. If the blind lead the blind the Scriptures teach us to expect them both to fall into the ditch; but if the blind undertake to lead those of us who can see, it is not too much to expect that most of us will have sense enough to avoid pitfalls which have grown familiar in the glare of experience.

Already the issue made paramount by the Kansas City resolutions has dwindled away before the eyes of the political charlatans who discovered it. It has taken its place with the minor clamors with which bewildered politicians have filled the air in order to avoid the main issue. It takes no very profound knowledge of passing events to know that the President's course in dealing with the possessions which came to us as a result of the war with Spain has been dictated not

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by national greed and selfishness, but by a disinterested purpose to promote the welfare of the alien populations which have come within our jurisdiction. Nobody is deceived by Mr. Bryan's dogma that the Constitution follows the Flag. That phrase was dug up by Calhoun, in order to put slavery in the Territories beyond the reach of Congress. It has no place either in a sound philosophy of our affairs or in the recorded history of our dealings with acquired territory. No friend of the early Republican faith, no genuine Lincoln Republican, as a lot of broken-down politicians are now calling themselves, will be scared if, in managing our new possessions, we stand on the proposition laid down in the first Republican national platform, that Congress has full power over the Territories of the United States for their government. Those of us who have seen the Democratic party at work in Congress, daily engaged in laying snares for the feet of its adversary, may be called as witnesses that the anxiety of the Democrats to get the Constitution into Puerto Rico and the Philippine Islands was dictated less by their love for these distant peoples than by their desire to put the administration in the attitude of having amalgamated with our working population ten or fifteen millions belonging to backward and barbarous races.

If the Puerto Rican legislation, which produced the most amazing tempest ever seen in a teapot, had no other good result, it put to silence, at least, the Democratic clamor that there is no power in Congress to stand between the workingmen of the United States and the degradation which three centuries of Spanish despotism have left on the borders of Asia. There has been a good deal of talk about the United States having taken up the rôle of Spain in these islands; yet no man has come forward to put his finger upon a single act of injustice or oppression chargeable to the Government of the United States. There has been, it is true, an insurrection in portions of the Philippine Archipelago. Mr. Bryan has declaimed for more than a year against the operations of our army in those islands; yet neither the army nor the navy has done any act there which was not required by a respect for the authority for our Government. The Philippine Republic is a myth; it never had any existence except in the military family of an insurgent leader. If any intelligent man will take the trouble to read the report of the Philippine Commission, of which Dr. Schurman was president, he will see that there is no Philippine Republic, and that there is and can be no Philippine nation. He will discover that the Philippine population consists of many tribes and races in various

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stages of civilization, some hostile, but for the most part friendly to us, and none of them at present capable either of establishing or maintaining a form of government like our own. It does not require a very profound wisdom to understand the absurdity of Mr. Bryan's proposal to turn over these Islands to the military chieftains of a single tribe, thus literally betraying those who have been our friends into the hands of their own enemies and ours.

Some have upbraided the administration because we are in the Philippine Islands at all. They ask by what right we occupy these Islands. Mr. Bryan is not in a position to join in these reproaches. He knows by what right we are in the Philippine Islands, because, except for him, the treaty of Paris, which created all the responsibilities which now burden us, would not be to-day the law of the land. Therefore, he cannot raise the question of our right to be there without making a little more elaborate an explanation of his activity in behalf of the treaty when it was pending in the Senate than he ventured to give the other day at Indianapolis.

It is evident to every healthy mind that when the war with Spain was over we could have chosen one of two courses, either of which had some sense in it: we could have withdrawn from Manila, leaving the Islands to fight it out with Spain and with one another, or we could have remained there to administer their affairs under our own authority, in trust for the whole population of the Islands. Mr. Bryan has announced a programme so obviously wanting in good sense as to need only a plain statement utterly to discredit it. He has not dared to say that our Government, having in the progress of the war erased the authority of Spain in the Islands, had a right to depart, leaving life and property without protection. Such a course would have violated not only the law of nations but the common precepts of public morality. If our settlement with Spain involved the barter and sale of men, women, and children at a fixed price per head, it will not be forgotten that Mr. Bryan was probably the most influential individual party to the transaction.

Mr. Bryan cannot escape the fact that our sovereignty in the Philippine Islands was created by the treaty, in approval of which he gave the full weight of his great influence. That instrument defines our duties to the kingdom of Spain, to the native inhabitants, and to the world at large. We must either discharge these duties, as required by the treaty, or run away from them without regard to the treaty. The course which Mr. Bryan recommends has all the burdens of the

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former course and all the humiliation of the latter. He wishes first to give these people, whether they ask for it or not, whether they consent to it or not, a stable government of our own manufacture. Nobody pretends to tell us how long that will take; but anyone who has given attention to the subject will acquire at least a suspicion that it may take more than a generation. The length of time it will take is not likely to be lessened by the promise of independence, which is to lie at the end of this benevolent process. It is not thought by those familiar with the motives of the present Tagal insurrection, that the prospect of having a treasury of their own thirty years from now will be very alluring to its surviving leaders.

But suppose that the hour for independence has arrived, what does the Democratic party propose to do? It proposes to make the Government of the United States responsible for all time to come for whatever the independent Philippine Republic does. It proposes to bring the whole world to us for a settlement of whatever grievance may arise against this independent government which we have set up in business for itself. Now, it ought to be as plain as such a thing can be in a world like this, that if we are to become responsible for what happens in the Philippine Islands, we ought not to renounce the legitimate sovereignty which we now possess, or to relax our supreme authority to control what happens there. If we go away we ought to take our baggage with us. If we stay for any purpose it must be in the exercise of the authority conferred upon us by the treaty of Paris. The present Government of the United States, mindful of all the responsibilities that are involved, mindful of the expense of blood and treasure, has solemnly resolved that the nation cannot retreat from the position in which the treaty of Paris has placed it.

In that fixed resolution the President of the United States has the sympathy and support of patriotic men of all political parties. The party to which he belongs has heard these noisy declamations on the subject of Imperialism before. It heard them when Abraham Lincoln stood calm and patient in the storm of calumny. It heard them when Ulysses S. Grant left the chief command of the Union army to take up its unfinished work at the Capital. It hears them now when William McKinley, with his eyes on the map of the world, guides the Republic into the larger opportunities of the new century. We walk in the very footsteps of our fathers, though they were no more free than we are to choose an ideal path. We shall have little difficulty in

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framing for the Philippine people a freer government than Mr. Jefferson gave to the inhabitants of Louisiana, or than that which Mr Monroe, through the military dictatorship of old General Jackson, gave to the Floridas. We are neither surprised nor alarmed to find about our ears a swarm of criticisms, exactly similar to those which assailed these early administrations. "The President proposes," said the "New York Herald" on March 7, 1804, "to erect a government about as despotic as that of Turkey in Asia." The same newspaper, on March 21st of that year, contained this indictment, which sounds almost as if it were up to date:

"The folly which supposes that the people of Louisiana are not as well qualified to enjoy political liberty as those hordes of aliens and strangers who are continually intermeddling with our public concerns will not always pass current with the people of America. Nor is it possible that any part of our empire can be long held in a state of vassalage even under the philosophic Jefferson. We revolted from Great Britain because her parliament taxed us without consent. Our colonies may adopt our principles. Even the limited monarchy proposed in the bill now under discussion in the House of Representatives will not probably be established, and it is next to a certainty that the session will terminate leaving Mr. Jefferson in complete possession of all the despotic powers which were lately acquired by the Spanish monarchy."

These are only samples of the noises which Thomas Jefferson heard while he was laying the foundation of greater America. They did not in the least turn him from his duty, though his correspondence shows how deeply he resented the unctuous interference of political enemies. Aaron Burr was one of these whose love of freedom was so persistent that it brought him into the District Court of the United States to be tried for treason. To all of them Mr. Jefferson uttered these words of rebuke, applicable to-day as they were in 1803: "Although it is acknowledged," he said, speaking of the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence as applied to Louisiana, "that our new fellow citizens are yet as incapable of self-government as children, yet some cannot bring themselves to suspend its principles for a single moment." (Letter to Dewitt Clinton, Works of Jefferson, Vol. viii, page 282. Putnam, 1897.)

Unless all signs fail the Democratic party of to-day will have more trouble in posturing as the champions of the Declaration of Independence than the enemies of Mr. Jefferson had in his day. If William McKinley, who gave his youth to the Union army, and Theodore Roosevelt, who won his fame among the troops which volunteered for the emancipation of the colonies of Spain, cannot be trusted to protect the cause of civil liberty in the territories now be-

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longing to the United States; if the colored races on the other side of the world are left with no other refuge except the political party which has trampled the rights of the colored citizens of the United States under its feet, leaving ten millions of people without voice or participation either in the national government or in the government of the States where they were born; then it may be said in all sobriety that our poor efforts to unravel the mystery of human affairs are hopeless and superfluous. JONATHAN P. DOLLIVER.

[The article by Mr. Charles A. Towne, promised for this issue of THE FORUM, went astray in transmission and did not reach our office in time for publication. — EDITOR.]

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WHY CUBA SHOULD BE INDEPENDENT.

As the day of the Cuban Convention for the framing and adoption of a constitution approaches, the question of Cuban independence assumes greater, and still greater, proportions, and the eyes of the American people are beginning to turn anxiously toward the Pearl of the Antilles. By the time this article appears in print, delegates to the convention will have been elected, and interest in the convention itself will have become widespread. The task I have set before me is briefly to review the situation, and to discuss the probable results to be expected from a number of causes, remote as well as proximate.

Little more than a year and six months has elapsed since the red and yellow flag came down from the flag-staff on Morro Castle, and Spanish domination, of more than four hundred years' standing, was brought to a close. Such a domination has produced a lasting effect, and Cuba still bears the mark which Spain has stamped upon it. In language, in habits, in religion, and, to a certain extent, in sentiment, Cuba is still Spanish. Her wounds are scarcely healed, and the memory of wrongs is still vivid; but there is a tie that binds the Cuban people to the Latin race which nothing can sever. Long years of crushing tyranny had, it is true, alienated the affections of Cuba from the mother country, and the feeling of bitterness is still intense; but it is impossible for the Cubans to forget their ancestry, as it is impossible for them to divest themselves of their language. As time goes on the memory of sufferings endured will grow weaker; but the influence of a common ancestry and a common language will still be strongly felt, and the race sentiment will grow in proportion to the antagonistic tendencies which, consciously or unconsciously, the Anglo-Saxon race may excite.

For a long time the United States, the stronghold of the Anglo-Saxon race in America, had been the hope of Cuba, as Cuba had been an object of interest to the United States. Sons and daughters of the best Cuban families have been educated in this country; and

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on their return they have taken with them an acquired love for our institutions, thus becoming so many centres of propagandism. The air of liberty which we breathe here communicated itself to the Cuban atmosphere, and a feeling of restlessness under the yoke of Spain began to permeate all classes of the native population. Our hospitable shores always afforded a safe asylum to the exiles from Cuba; and, in spite of the efforts of our Government, dictated by the requirements of international law, many an expedition went forth from these same shores to wage war against the Government of Spain, while the Cuban revolutionary centres plotted and executed their movements under the folds of the starry banner.

Ever since the Black-Eagle conspiracy in the early part of the present century the American administration and the American Congress have busied themselves with Cuba, which, on account of her frequent revolutions, as well as of the restrictions imposed upon commerce by the Spanish Government, became a thorn in our side. A sentiment in favor of the annexation of the island increased, and at various intervals unsuccessful attempts were made to conclude with Spain a bargain looking toward its purchase. Offers of this kind were, however, again and again rejected.

In the Ten Years' War, as well as in that which culminated in 1898, friends of Cuba in this country labored hard to bring about a recognition of Cuban independence, or, at least, of the belligerency of the Cuban insurgents; but all efforts in this direction failed. In those exciting days which immediately preceded the Spanish-American war, when the Capitol was jammed to the very doors by an eager multitude, there were passed what I may call compromise resolutions. There were those in Congress who wished for the recognition of the Lone Star Flag, and of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, of which Bartolomé Masó was then president; but the majority was against them. Instead of the proposed recognition of the Cuban Republic, the following joint resolutions were passed, and on April 20, 1898, obtained the President's signature:

> "The people of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent.
> "The United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said island except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government and the control of the island to its people."

Such were the resolutions of Congress which obtained the force of law, and became binding upon the people of the United States. In

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view of our subsequent conduct I shall undertake a careful and impartial consideration of them.

Closely following the passage of these resolutions active operations against Spain began. The Cubans in arms were regarded as allies, and their aid and coöperation were sought and obtained. By coöperating with the army under General Gomez — whether officially or not, it makes little difference — we implicitly and practically recognized the belligerency of the Cubans, and, consequently, their flag and organization.

What was our conduct toward our Cuban allies and their flag after the war, which so suddenly and unexpectedly came to an end? The republic was entirely ignored, its flag was not permitted on the palace at Santiago, and its soldiers were dismissed with the grant of a few dollars. But, you tell me, this was quite logical, in view of the fact that the Congress of the United States had not officially recognized the Cuban Republic. I grant that there had been no explicit recognition, but was there not an implicit and virtual one? The Cuban soldiers, fighting under their own flag, were accepted and acknowledged as allies. Was not this a recognition of their flag? And what was that flag but a symbol of their republic?

Let us take the joint resolutions in detail. I read first that "the people of the island of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent." What does this sentence mean? To my mind it contains words, and nothing more, if it was not a virtual recognition of the "de facto" Cuban government. "The people of the island of Cuba are free." In what sense was this true? Was it true of the inhabitants of Havana, of Santiago, of Matanzas, and of the most important towns of the island? Far from it; for the Spanish flag still waved over them, and Spanish rule still ground them. It was, however, true of the rural population, especially in the eastern provinces. This constituted the real, free, Cuban people. But what is a people without a government? What but a mob in anarchy? And surely the United States could never have intended to recognize an unorganized mob. Therefore, the recognition of Cuban independence and of the freedom of the Cuban people was a necessary, logical, and, at least, an implicit recognition of the government which that people acknowledged. It was, therefore, quite logical to recognize and accept the aid of its army. Has our subsequent conduct been as logical, or has it not been an abandonment in fact of the principle contained in our joint resolution in which we not only declared that the people of

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Cuba ought to be free and independent, but that they were actually free. To be sure, it cannot be said that they have been free under the autocratic rule of our American military government. Therefore, either the joint resolution was not true or we have cancelled it by our occupation of Cuba. If the people of Cuba were free when that resolution was passed, then have we, for two years, been robbing them of their freedom.

"All that I have done was for your own good." These were the words spoken by the President of the United States within my hearing to Mr. Salvador Cisneros, ex-president of the Republic of Cuba. I believe that they were the sincere expression of Mr. McKinley's sentiments. The question, however, is not what his intentions were, but whether his conduct has been in accord with logic and the principles of law. In this connection I may ask, What is the legal status of the United States in Cuba? We are not masters of the island, nor do we pretend to be, either by the right of treaty or conquest; and yet we exercise sovereignty over it, and in the most despotic form — that of military rule. Was there ever a condition so abnormal in the history of nations?

Undoubtedly our conduct has been at variance with the first of the joint resolutions that I have quoted. Let us now turn to the other and consider our position in regard to it.

"The United States disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said island, except for the pacification thereof."

This is a saving clause. We have no right to exercise sovereignty over a free people; but, being the greatest nation on the Western hemisphere, we assume the right to see that our young neighbor is pacified. We undertake to govern it, for its own good, because it is not yet able to govern itself. We do this because we are responsible for its freedom, and because we have its welfare at heart. Such is the position we have taken, whatever may be the legal basis and the antecedents justifying this position. In view of the disorganized condition of Cuba and of the fermentation of passions immediately after the war, it was, perhaps, the only practical, and the only charitable, course to pursue, illogical though it might have been, and the Cuban people will ever feel grateful to the United States for her exertions in their behalf.

But have the Cubans a reason to be universally contented over the period of intervention and the conduct of the military administration?

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Mr. Cisneros, generally known in Cuba as the Marquis de Santa Lucia, assures me that they have not.

Some very severe accusations have been made by him against the military administration of Cuba, and if these can be substantiated by proof, the conditions are certainly not calculated to increase love for the United States in the hearts of the Cubans, nor is it any wonder that if, at the close of the war, there was in the island a sentiment in favor of annexation, this has almost disappeared.

There are at present several political parties in Cuba, although their differences are more nominal than real; but there is no party in favor of annexation. Of these political parties the *Nacional Cubano* is the oldest. Its object is to unite all Cubans and to consolidate their sentiment on the one question of Cuban independence. Its organ is "El Cubano," a paper published in Havana, strong in opposition to the military administration, and radically in favor of independence. This party is principally composed of the masses of the population. The *Union Democratica* is a party chiefly composed of the old autonomist elements and of some of the revolutionaries, like José M. Rodriguez, Fidel Pierra, Aristides Aguero, and Gen. Enrique Collazo. Its object is to obtain for the Cubans a voice in the administration of the island during the period of intervention. It also opposes the new electoral law. The *Partido Republicano*, of which the principal organ is "Patria," is another independence party, with a cut-and-dried programme for a republican form of government. *Concentracion Patriotica* is a recent movement, originating in Santiago de Cuba, identical in spirit with the *Nacional Cubano*. It has not yet assumed the organization of a party. The main object of all these so-called parties is to secure absolute independence for the island.

Among the influential papers of the capital, besides those already mentioned, I may say that "La Discusion" and "La Nacion" are independent of all parties, but that, like "El Cubano" and "Patria," they favor independence. "La Lucha," partly published in English, sides with the powers that be, while "El Diario de la Marina," the organ of the Spanish colony, is highly anti-Cuban. The "Nuevo Pais," which was formerly the organ of the autonomist party, favors an American protectorate more than absolute independence. "El Comercio" somewhat resembles "La Lucha," but with a stronger tendency toward the Cuban element.

It will thus be seen that, with the exception of a few dissentient voices, the sentiment of the Cubans is overwhelming in favor of abso-

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lute independence. They are willing, as Mr. Cisneros expressed it, to grant the United States every reasonable concession, every commercial privilege, but they draw the line at sovereignty. For years they fought and suffered for the sake of independence, and they are not willing to surrender their ideal. They revere the Stars and Stripes, but their attachment to their own Lone Star flag is and will remain supreme.

What is the sentiment in this country? The imperialists, no doubt, have a hankering after Cuba. In army and navy circles, and in those of the Government generally, I believe there is a sentiment for annexation. Certain business interests, actuated by selfish motives, also look wistfully in that direction. But what of the masses of the people? The impression made upon me is that comparatively little interest is evinced in the matter, although, if opinions could be canvassed, I think the balance would incline toward the independence of Cuba. If there is a sentiment more than any other predominating in the American heart it is that of fair play and a keen love of justice. When our people realize the meaning of the joint resolutions, they will necessarily awaken to the fact that the honor of the United States demands that Cuba be free and independent. The anti-imperialists, both in the Republican and the Democratic ranks, are, of course, in favor of Cuban independence.

The Government of the United States makes open profession of the fact that it intends to be faithful to the joint resolutions and to grant Cuba her independence. The instructions of the military governor of Cuba, dated July 25, of the present year, ordering the general election to be held in September, let it plainly be understood that the people of Cuba, having established municipal governments, are now ready to proceed "to the establishment of a general government which shall assume and exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, and control over the island." The impression I took with me from the interview I had, not long ago, with the President of the United States, in company with Mr. Cisneros, Gen. Lacret, and Dr. Mustelier, was that Cuba's independence was only a question of a few months.

In spite of these assurances, however, and of the confidence reposed in the honor of the American government, the Cuban mind is not without certain misgivings. There is a clause in the instructions already cited which has added to these misgivings. It is said there that the object of the convention will be to "frame and adopt a constitution for the people of Cuba, and as a part thereof to provide for

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and agree with the government of the United States upon the relations to exist between that government and the government of Cuba." "As a part thereof"—this looks suspicious. The constitution of every free and independent government is, and must be, unhampered by foreign relations. What can the constitutional relations of Cuba to the United States be but one of dependency? Were they merely those of nation to nation, upon a basis of equality, there would be no need of embodying them in the constitution. But the idea of dependency is the very antithesis of independence. In a document handed to the Secretary of War by Mr. Cisneros, at the recommendation of the President, a strong protest was made against this clause. I watched the Secretary as he hastily scanned the paper and rapidly turned over the pages. Laying it aside he said that the subject would have to be referred to Gen. Wood. Mr. Root was most courteous and affable, but the rapidity with which he passed over the protest left but little opportunity for an impression to be made then and there.

Again, why was the date of the convention set for the first Monday of November, the day before the Presidential election? Was this done with a purpose in view, for fear that our own elections might be influenced by the Cuban convention, should it happen that the government of the United States showed a tendency to interfere with its working?

Objection is also made to the number of delegates to the convention. Thirty-one delegates are to be elected; but this number can scarcely represent all the varied interests of the island which ought to have a share, at least indirect, in the convention. To this Mr. Root objected that a small, deliberative body is generally more efficient than a large one. This may be true, but is it just as satisfactory to those represented, if the number of representatives is out of proportion to their constituents? Besides, as Mr. Cisneros justly remarks in his memorandum, the limited number renders independent action more difficult, and facilitates outside pressure. It is easier to control a small than a large body.

Certain rumors, which may or may not be founded on fact, have certainly not served to allay suspicions. Thus the Secretary of War is reported to have stated that the United States intended to keep control of the Custom House, of the Public Works, and of the Sanitary Works. If such be the case they might as well keep the whole island at once. Again, it is said that Gen. Wood recently stated in

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Puerto Principe that if the elected members of the Constitutional Convention were not persons of knowledge and experience in the island and who, by their conditions, would afford a guarantee of stability to the government elected, the United States would not withdraw from Cuba.

As for myself, I am a firm believer in the sincerity and in the good intentions of Mr. McKinley, but I fear outside pressure and the network of influences which the Annexationists may weave around him. I hope, however, for the honor of our country, that we shall be true to ourselves and our promises, and that we shall be just to a weaker people, to one which has made so many sacrifices for the sake of liberty and is ready, if need be, to make more.

CHARLES WARREN CURRIER.

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IS A TIMBER FAMINE IMMINENT?

THE woodlands of the United States are estimated to comprise in the neighborhood of 700,000,000 acres, or about 1,100,000 square miles; in other words, about one-third of the area of the country, excluding Alaska and our recent accessions of territory, is wooded. In the term "wooded" are included all lands covered with trees in all stages of growth, from young saplings to mature trees. Of this area about two-thirds lie in the eastern part of the country, extending from the Atlantic coast to the prairie region, and about one-third is comprised in the Rocky Mountain and Pacific States. The wooded area may be roughly divided into three classes. The first contains forests of size and quality fit for manufacturing purposes. The trees are, for the most part, mature. Another part of the wooded region was formerly occupied by merchantable forests; but the latter have been cut away for the use of man, and the areas are now occupied by a tree-growth varying in size, age, and quality, but mainly young and small. The third part of the wooded area is covered by trees which, though mainly mature, are of value only for fire-wood or other subordinate purposes. On the first and third of these areas we have a ripe crop of timber, on all of them a growing crop, and on the second a growing crop only.

Geographically, the wooded regions of the United States may be divided into two parts. First we have the eastern part of the country, stretching from the Atlantic coast to the prairies. The prairies themselves are but lightly timbered, forming a transition region between this eastern timbered region and the plains. The latter form a broad belt several hundred miles in width, which is practically devoid of heavy timber.

The Rocky Mountain region west of the plains is timbered only upon the higher mountains and plateaus, the valleys being, as a rule, destitute of forests. Northern Washington and some parts of central and eastern Oregon are forested, and that portion of those two States west of the crest of the Cascade Range is covered with heavy, dense

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forests. In California the Sierra Nevada is in great part a forested region, as are most of the coast ranges north of San Francisco Bay.

Thus, as respects its forests, we may divide the country into two parts, the East and the West. In the northern part of the East, near the Canadian border, *i. e.*, in northern New England and New York and in the Lake States, the timber consists mainly of conifers, pines, spruces and hemlock, with an admixture of hardwoods. In this region is found almost all of the remaining supply of white pine. Going southward the hardwoods become more abundant, and in mid latitudes they predominate greatly, consisting here of oak, chestnut, and kindred species. In the Appalachian Mountains, where the altitude induces low temperatures, the conifers extend southward as far as the Carolinas and East Tennessee. On the uplands surrounding the Appalachians and in the Mississippi Valley generally hardwoods preponderate greatly; but along the Atlantic plain, stretching, from Virginia southward, to and across the Mississippi and into northeastern Texas, is a broad strip of yellow pines, with little hardwood. This extends from the coast inland nearly to the broken country of the Appalachians, and constitutes the great southern pine belt. In the swampy coast regions along the Atlantic and the Gulf and in the Mississippi bottomland are large areas containing cypress timber.

Throughout the thickly settled parts of the East the merchantable timber has been largely cut away, leaving an alternation of open cultivated tracts and of young woods, suitable at present chiefly for fire-wood. The pineries of northern New England and the lake States have been pretty well culled for white pine, leaving, however, most of the spruce and hemlock. The southern pine region of the South has also suffered from serious inroads by the lumberman.

The timber of the West is composed almost entirely of conifers. There is no hardwood of commercial value except a little oak found in California. The conifers of the Rocky Mountain region form rather sparse forests, composed of various species, prominent among which are pines, firs, and spruces. This region, even on the mountains, the habitat of the forests, is somewhat arid and has been devastated by fires for centuries, so that the forests are of various ages. Owing to the somewhat unfavorable climate, the frequent fires, and other discouragements, the forests are not commonly dense nor is the timber of much value. Still, being the only timber within easy reach, it is of the most vital importance to the industries of the region.

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The forests of the western coast are probably the heaviest and densest on earth. The only known forests which are at all comparable with them are those of tropical regions, such as those of the Amazon and the Congo basins; and here, although the undergrowth may form a more impenetrable jungle, the trees are by no means as large, do not stand as closely together, nor do they contain as much lumber. The reason for this exceptionally heavy forest growth lies in the favorable climatic conditions, a cool, uniform temperature, with slight variations between the seasons, a copious rainfall, and a humid atmosphere. Lying in the north temperate zone, the prevailing winds are from the west, *i. e.*, from the sea, and they bring to the coast region the uniformly damp climate of the ocean. These air currents are constantly saturated with moisture; and in the winter season being warmer than the land, they are forced, on reaching the shore, to discharge copiously their stores of moisture. Similar geographic and climatic conditions prevail upon the west coast of Europe; but there the forests which formerly covered the land were cut away centuries ago.

The heavily timbered area extends in Oregon and Washington from the crest of the Cascade Range to the Pacific coast. This entire region, with the exception of a few small areas in the Willamette valley and in the valleys of the Umpqua and Rogue rivers, is, or was before settlement began, completely covered with a most magnificent forest growth. This body extends into California in two great tongues; one occupying most of the breadth of the coast ranges, and extending nearly down to San Francisco Bay, the other extending southward along the west slope of the Sierra Nevada nearly to Tehachapi Pass.

To appreciate the density of these forests we must have recourse to some well-known unit of comparison. In the white pine forests of Minnesota a heavy stand of timber contains perhaps 5,000 feet (British measurement) per acre, and a stand of 10,000 feet per acre in this region is very heavy. Such areas are few and small. The yellow pine regions of the South contain, on an average, about 3,000 feet (B. M.) per acre, and 5,000 feet is a large stand. Upon the Pacific coast a stand of 5,000 feet per acre would not be regarded as worth lumbering; a stand of 10,000 feet is light. There are whole counties in which the stand averages 30,000 feet. There are townships of thirty-six square miles in which the average stand exceeds 50,000 feet, and there are many square miles whose stand exceeds

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100,000 per acre. Among the redwoods a stand of 150,000 feet per acre is common. The lumber companies operating about Humboldt Bay, the principal centre of the redwood industry, have thus far averaged 85,000 feet per acre from the total area which they have cut. Single redwoods have been cut which furnished 100,000 feet in lumber.

Nor is it solely in the stand of timber that these forests excel. The individual trees are of enormous size. The fir ranges in diameter up to 12 feet, with an extreme height of 250 to 300 feet. The spruce is quite as large, while yellow and sugar pines are but little smaller. But the king of all these trees, from the lumberman's point of view, is the redwood. The extreme diameter of the fir, cedar, and pine may almost be regarded as the average diameter of the redwoods. They range up to 20 and 25 feet in diameter, with height exceeding 300 feet.

The Sequoia gigantea of the Sierra Nevada occurs only in small groves or tracts, where it is mixed with yellow and sugar pine. Even here it forms only a small component of the forest, being greatly outnumbered by other trees, even in its habitat. It is an old, old tree, the patriarch of the forest. Nearly all of the individuals are in old age; their branches and tops being broken, their butts fire-scarred and perhaps badly burned. They are relics of an age long past. Many thousands of years ago this species was in its prime and covered the land.

The distribution of the tree species is controlled by temperature and rainfall, and these, in turn, by latitude, by proximity to the coast, and by altitude above sea level.

Closely bordering the coast and extending ten or fifteen miles inland, stretching southward from Cape Flattery across Washington and Oregon, is a belt of forest composed almost exclusively of Sitka spruce and cedar. In California these species are replaced by the redwood, which extends in a long, narrow strip from the Oregon-California line southward nearly to San Francisco Bay. Proceeding inland in Washington the species change, and in the place of spruces and cedars the forest becomes composed of the celebrated red, or Douglas, fir, with a large admixture of hemlock. The amount of hemlock diminishes as the Sound valley is approached, and in that region, as well as on the western slopes of the Cascade Range, the forest is composed almost entirely of red fir. This extends up the slope of the Cascade Range 3,000 or 4,000 feet, when its place is taken by sub-alpine species of comparatively little value for lumber pur-

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poses. The same succession of species is seen in the northern part of Oregon west of the Cascade Range.

The northern part of Washington east of the Cascade Range is sparsely timbered, mostly with yellow pine. The line of demarkation between the pines and firs is sharply defined by the crest of the Cascades throughout Washington and half way down that range in Oregon. At about the middle point in the range in the latter State the yellow pine succeeds in surmounting the range. Thence it extends southward, spreads over the depression west of it, and even goes into the coast ranges, where it forms a mixed forest with the red fir. Southward it gradually becomes the larger and more important component of the forest. Throughout the forested regions of the Sierra it is the predominant tree. The northern coast ranges east of the redwood belt are largely covered with this tree, intermixed with sugar pine and red fir.

The Sierra Nevada shows three well defined belts of vegetation. The lower belt includes the foot-hills and ranges up to an altitude of 2,500 to 3,000 feet. The vegetation here consists mostly of chaparral of many different species, ranging in height from three to six or eight feet, among which are scattered a few oaks and digger pines. Succeeding this and extending up to altitudes of 7,500 or 8,000 feet, with a breadth of thirty to forty miles, is the yellow pine belt, the true forest of the Sierra. This is an open forest of large trees, with little undergrowth, consisting mainly of yellow pine, with a considerable admixture of sugar pine and incense cedar, and here and there groups and groves of the greatest tree on earth, the Sequoia gigantea. Succeeding this belt and extending thence to timber line is a forest of sub-alpine species, consisting of black hemlock, white bark pine, lodgepole pine, and balsam fir, which are of little or no value for lumber purposes.

With reference to the future timber supply of the country, we are concerned with the magnitude of the ripe crop, with the rate of growth, and with the condition of the growing crop, in order that these factors may be compared with the known rate of consumption of wood.

Of the amount of standing timber of merchantable size and quality we have no complete information. We have, however, many bits of knowledge relating to different parts of the country, to different species of trees, etc.; and by putting these together we may be enabled to make a guess at the extent of our resources.

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During the past three years the forests of the West have been examined with considerable care, both within and without the forest reserves, for the purpose of aiding in the administration of the reserves, for the establishment of new reserves, and for learning the local supply of lumber in various parts of the West. The results of these examinations enable me to state with some confidence that in the Pacific Coast States there are in the neighborhood of 600 billion feet (B. M.) of merchantable timber, and that in the Rocky Mountain region there are some 30 billions, making a total of 630 billions in the country west of the plains.

Concerning the eastern part of the country we have comparatively little information. The amount of timber in Minnesota has been estimated with considerable care, with results showing 27.6 billion feet. Wisconsin has been examined with equal care, and is said to contain 45 billion feet.

In the manufacturing investigations of the Eleventh Census, made in 1890, lumbermen and mill owners were asked how much timber land was owned by them, and what was the stand of timber upon it. These questions were quite generally answered, and the replies showed that a total area of 27,664,626 acres, or about 43,200 square miles, was reported upon, with an average stand upon it of 7,830 feet per acre. Nearly all of this area was in the Eastern States. The stand of timber averaged by States ranged from 3,000 up to 41,000 feet per acre, the latter stand being in the State of California. The average stand in the Southern States, including pine and hardwood was 6,000 feet, and in New England 6,500 feet. These figures of average stand, however, are misleading, since they represent not the average of the timber land of the country, but the best of it. quality having largely determined the selection of lands. It would, therefore, be unsafe to accept these figures of stand as the average, even for the lands which are covered with merchantable timber. The average stand of the wooded regions of the eastern country must be far below these figures. Indeed, estimates of the stand of southern pine show the much lower average of about 3,000 feet per acre for the entire region.

Judging by the above facts and numerous other straws of evidence which it would be tedious to enumerate here, I have come to the conclusion that the average stand upon the wooded lands in the East probably does not exceed 1,500 feet. The area of woodland in this part of the country is a little less than half a billion acres. The

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stand of timber upon it, therefore, may be in the neighborhood of 750 billion feet (B. M.). With that estimated in the West, 630 billions, the total stand in the country would appear to be, approximately, 1,380 billion feet (B. M.). In 1890, the cut was about 25 billion feet, and since then the annual cut has somewhat increased. The present stand would therefore supply the present rate of consumption for about fifty years. As a random statement, then, it may be said that we have timber in stock sufficient to last the present demands of our industries for nearly two generations. Some species, however, which are applicable to certain purposes, such as the southern pine, the redwood, and the red fir, will last longer than others, and some species, like the black walnut and the white pine, are already very nearly exhausted.

But in saying that the merchantable timber in sight may supply the needs of our country for fifty years to come, it must not be understood for a moment that at the end of that time we shall be at the end of our timber resources. Our timber supply is not like our supply of coal, of iron ore, etc., upon which we have only the principal to draw. It is constantly being replenished by growth, so that we have the interest as well as the capital to live on. It is estimated that each year the average acre of woodland adds a third of a cord by growth. The annual increment of our supply of wood material by growth is, therefore, over 300 billion feet (B. M.). Of this it may be estimated that one-tenth, or 30 billion feet (B. M.), consists of merchantable timber. This is a little in excess of the annual demands of our sawmills, but when we add to these requirements the amount destroyed by fire and other sources of loss, it is altogether probable that the annual growth is considerably less than the annual destruction. It seems, therefore, that if we could reduce the sources of waste to a minimum, the prospect of a continuous supply of timber from our woodlands would be good.

The principal sources of waste are fires and wasteful lumbering, and of these the more serious is the first. Fires operate to destroy timber in various ways, according to their intensity. It is only the fiercest, hottest ones which make a clean sweep of a mature forest, but many of less intensity do great damage. Even light fires destroy the young growth and may injure mature trees in such a way as ultimately to cause their death. Fires, however, can be prevented.

The present methods of lumbering are extremely wasteful, from 60 to 75 per cent only of the tree being cut and utilized as lumber. The

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younger trees — those of insufficient size — or the trees of inferior species, are left standing. The waste of the cut trees is left upon the ground, where it dries, and inevitably, sooner or later, intentionally or unintentionally, is burned, producing a hot fire which destroys all the trees left by the lumbermen. Thus, over the lumbered tract not only are all the mature trees cut, but the young growth, which might be depended upon to seed the area for a future crop, is destroyed by the inevitable fires. The lumbered area then depends for reseeding upon trees at a distance, and this reseeding takes place slowly. It may be many years before the area is covered with young growth; and even then for many years this young growth has to run the gauntlet of forest fires, before it reaches an age at which it can resist even the lightest.

It is under such difficulties that the future supply of timber for the country labors. The remedy is simple. When the lumberman changes his policy from that of merely reaping a harvest and abandoning the ground to one of providing for a continuous harvest, year by year, the problem will be solved. This he will do just as soon as he can see a greater profit in the change of policy, and not until then. Sentiment and altruism play no part in business and cannot be depended on as motives for reform. There should be much greater economy in the use of the trees cut, and this is sure to be the case as timber appreciates in value. There is vastly greater economy practised in New England and in the Lake States than upon the Pacific coast, simply because the lumber is more valuable. In eastern regions three-fourths of the tree are utilized, while on the Pacific coast less than one-third of it gets into the lumber market.

The methods of lumbering should be radically changed. Instead of lumbering clean, *i.e.*, cutting every tree which is of size suitable for the mill and destroying the rest, the forest should usually be culled. The mature trees only should be taken out, and they should be removed in such manner as to afford to the remaining trees the best possible chance for future development. In brief, lumbering should be carried on with an eye to future crops of timber from the same land as well as to present profits. The details of method are out of place here; but they are thoroughly understood by foresters and by some progressive lumbermen, and are in practice on many hundreds of thousands of acres of forest to-day, under the supervision of the Division of Forestry of the Department of Agriculture. They are to be introduced upon the National Forest Reserves, under

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the same competent advice, as it is believed that, thus operated, these reserves can be made to supply the local demand for lumber for an indefinite length of time.

These forest reserves, numbering thirty-seven, have a total area of 70,645 square miles, or 45,212,800 acres, an area about equal to that of the State of North Dakota, and larger than that of the State forests of Europe combined. They comprise nearly all the large tracts of forest land in the West still owned by the Government, consisting mainly of mountainous regions at considerable altitudes. They contain the sources of many important streams, which are of inestimable value for irrigating the desert lands below, and the forests doubtless have much effect upon the regimen of these streams.

Of the areas of these reserves nearly all are still held by the Government, small tracts only having passed into private hands; and measures have been taken for obtaining the latter by offering the holders the opportunity to exchange them for lands elsewhere. These lands have thus been reserved from sale and settlement, not for the purpose of withholding them from use, as many people have supposed, but, on the contrary, to make them of the greatest possible use, not only in the future, but at the present time. The purpose is to obtain from these lands, if possible, a continuous supply of timber. If given over into private hands all the timber upon these lands which is of any value will be immediately cut and marketed, while that remaining will be destroyed by the fires which inevitably sweep through cut areas, not only destroying all timber and leaving no trees for seeding purposes, but injuring the surface soil for the reproduction of trees, so that often many years elapse before tree-growth is resumed, even in regions having an exceptionally favorable climate for such growth.

The restrictions of the Government upon the use of the timber in the reserves are not onerous. In certain regions where the timber is young and open no cutting is at present permitted. In other regions lumbering is permitted, the cutting being confined to trees above a certain diameter; that is, the Government permits the harvesting of what it regards as the ripe timber crop. It is often an advantage to the younger growth, and consequently to the forests as a whole, to have the older trees, if properly selected, cut out, affording space and air for the young growth to develop. While thus permitting lumbering, the Government requires that the refuse be brought together and disposed of, in order to prevent fires.

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The guarding and administration of the forest reserves has been vested in the General Land Office. The organization consists of superintendents, each of whom has charge of one or more reserves. Under each of them are several supervisors, who have charge of separate reserves or definite parts of reserves, and under the latter are rangers, to the number of several hundred, to each of whom is assigned the guarding of a portion of a reserve. Upon this portion the ranger is expected to live, and it is his duty to patrol it constantly. In case of fire rangers are called in from all sides, and the aid of the settlers is invoked if necessary. The system has now been in operation for two years, and its purposes and operations are beginning to be understood by the Western people. Although initiated in the face of the bitterest opposition from them, it is now approving itself to such an extent that the opposition has well-nigh disappeared. Indeed, some who formerly were its bitterest opponents are now heartily in its favor.

One of the most difficult questions to settle regarding the forest reserves is that of grazing upon them, particularly the effect of sheep raising. The reserves include most of the high mountain country of the West, the regions which in summer, when the grass is dried up on the plains and in the valleys, contain practically all of the available pasture land. The pasturage interests of the West, which are great, being worth many millions of dollars, are, therefore, in great part, dependent upon these forest reserves. To bar cattle and sheep from the reserves would be practically to destroy these interests. It would therefore seem inexpedient to prevent grazing in forest reserves, unless it would be clearly established that grazing is sufficiently injurious to the forests to warrant the destruction of the pasturage industry for their protection.

Contrary to widespread belief, especially in the West, the forest reserves are not withheld from the operations of mining land laws. Prospecting may be carried on in the reserves as freely as elsewhere, and mining claims may be taken up there as in other parts of the public domain.

HENRY GANNETT.

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THE LESSON OF THE MAIZE KITCHEN AT PARIS.

I HAVE been astonished many times to notice the alacrity with which hotel guests in America order preparations of Indian corn. I think this is noticeable in the better class of hotels and restaurants found in the great cities, as well as in the ordinary county-seat towns. In our country, where we grind all the cereal flours, and make all the cereal foods, this fact stands out prominently in favor of corn. Our people are not confined to rice and rye. They have the meal of the oat and all the flours of the wheat. They have the brown bread of the German baker and the various kinds of macaroni made either in Italy or in the United States. In late years many new preparations of our cereal grains have been fabricated and put on the market; yet, corn cakes, corn fritters, corn porridge, fried corn mush, hot corn bread, corn grits, and hominy are in active and constant demand. Even the highly prized buckwheat is not consumed to the same extent as are our American preparations of corn. Now, this clearly demonstrates that there is an inherent merit in Indian corn food-products.

The situation in Europe is different. Lately I have taken pains to examine carefully the cereal food-products of the different nations as exposed at the World's Fair. In many of them I find that corn is not grown at all, and in a few only is the imported grain milled for food. In Hungary, Italy, and Roumania some maize is grown, but it is not used on the table to any considerable extent. Nor have these European people anything like the variety and excellence of our cereal foods. Their bread-stuff is composed almost exclusively of rye and wheat flour, milled and bolted. Such a situation would indicate that the exploitation of Indian corn products here would be an easy matter. But the Europeans have taken a dislike to it. Why is this? The inquiry is very important. It goes to the core of the whole thing. It raises a point which must be met. Either our people with their ample opportunities have depraved palates or the Europeans are mistaken. Mr. J. Williams, an expert in Russian agriculture, and an

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attaché of his government here, tells me that he is surprised to know that corn is used so extensively as food in the United States. He thinks the poor people in his country might be induced to use it, but is very much puzzled to hear that all classes not only eat but relish it in our country.

An examination of the grain at the Exposition shows this: European maize is grown only on the Mediterranean slope. This maize is flint corn. It is small—not as large as our old King Philip. It resembles the sod-corn of early days. It is hard, dry, woody, and hard to digest, though not unnutritious. It will not grind into flour like the dent varieties. It hasn't the oil; it hasn't the life; it hasn't the sugar; it hasn't the blood-making, the heat-making, the strength-giving qualities of the best varieties of this great grain, such as are found in America.

In the Hungarian pavilion is a collection of antiquities. Among the old mummies, armor, and heavy, rusted broad-swords is a little piece of bread supposed to be a thousand years old. In a case near the little piece of bread are two blackened nubbins of pre-historic corn found in Peru and supposed to be over four hundred years old. The custodian of that pavilion, which was built by the best corn-growing country in all Europe, asked me in all seriousness if those two blackened, ancient nubbins, which were scarcely three inches long, were anything like the corn which is grown in the United States at the present time.

The people of the United States travel. They go to Europe and return. The people of Europe are largely provincial. They do not come to America and return. Year after year they go to Italy, Spain, France, or the Alps, where they find nothing to dispel their preconceived notions about corn and the products of corn. The notion which they have formed pervades the whole Continent, and it is this notion which creates the prejudice against our maize. American palates are not depraved. European minds are simply mistaken. Even the market quotations do not discriminate in favor of the American grown corn.

In many of the agricultural sections assigned to the different nations at the World's Fair I have seen charts showing by graphic work the relative productions of farm products. The leading place in cotton, wheat, and corn is always placed to the credit of the United States. There seems to be no disposition either to hide or to obscure this prodigious fact. The second place in wheat is accorded

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either to France or Russia. The farmers of Roumania and Hungary grow an excellent quality of this grain. Indeed, it was at Budapest that our modern system of milling wheat had its origin. An agent of a Chicago reaper company tells me that his house sold 20,000 reaping and mowing machines in Europe last year, and that probably one other Chicago house sold even more. There are a dozen American and Canadian reaping machines competing for European trade. The French tariff on wheat is light, but the country lays a duty of two dollars and fifty-five cents a barrel on flour, which practically bars this commodity out of the French market. The policy of the French republic is to protect the native miller, and we have no right to complain about that.

Now, the situation, taken as a whole, shows plainly that a large introduction of corn or corn flour might enlist the combined opposition of European wheat interests; and I present these facts to show the prodigious work which lies in front of our Indian corn propaganda. But it can all be overcome, and a tremendous market can be created among the middle classes in Europe for maize breadstuffs. Almost the same situation lay in front of our firms which undertook the sale of rolled oats in European countries; but they have established an enormous trade, and the rolled oat is quite a staple on the European table. The essential fact of merit lies with the corn products. Notwithstanding the large amount of wheat raised here, European people need our maize preparations, so that the practical question is: How shall we proceed to create the demand and supply the market the same as we have done in rolled oats and in cotton, bales of which may be always seen piled high on the piers at European ports?

To meet the inquiry, let me suggest the following: (1) Through our consuls and other agencies the differences between American and European maize ought to be shown to the people; (2) depots of supplies ought to be established where corn flours and corn foods could be obtained at the lowest prices compatible with a fair profit; (3) the methods of cooking these maize dishes should be promulgated at the supply depots. Some of these things are now being done in a very creditable manner. The so-called Corn Kitchen at the Exposition is truly a success. It serves corn dishes to from one hundred to five hundred persons a day, and the dishes are well prepared. It is an annex to the agricultural exhibit, and is under the direct supervision of Mr. Charles Richards Dodge, the United States director of

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this part of the Fair. From personal knowledge I know that the Kitchen has created a large amount of inquiry among visitors. It would not be in good taste to disparage the grains of other countries while competing for national honors at this Exposition. Hence, the Kitchen is not the place to point out the wide difference between bread made from our corn and that made from Hungarian maize; but when it comes to actual business this of course is an entirely different question.

Naturally this Corn Kitchen cannot supply the flours and meals and grits and hominies that an inquiring people demand. Hence, the functions of the kitchen are limited to presenting the dishes as prepared in the American homes and hotels. Hence, too, it falls short of the real necessities. A German may like the bread and cakes ever so well, but if he has no available place in which to buy the meal and the flour little is accomplished. Our country has practically a monopoly in corn production. It is the most valuable plant that grows. It is rich in forage, rich in feed, rich in food. All animal life upon the farm, from poultry up, grows and fattens upon it — a fact which can be affirmed of no other grain. Millions of people in Europe would be blessed if they knew how to use the cheap corn foods of America and had easy access to them. No mind can take in the commercial possibilities of a market for this grain in Europe.

It is pleasant to note that American milling companies have done much to promote this enterprise. The American Cereal Company, the Decatur Cereal Mills, the Indianapolis Hominy Company, the Cereal Food Company, the National Starch Company, the Hudnut Company, the United States Frumentum Company, and the Patent Cereal Company supply the materials that are consumed in the Corn Kitchen. The Government simply pays the freight and customs charges. Col. Carr, of Galesburg, Illinois, and Mr. B. W. Snow, of Chicago, equipped and installed the Kitchen under the direction of Mr. Dodge. Two of the best chefs obtainable in the United States are employed, and they are assisted by two colored cooks, one of whom is well-known as "Aunt Jemima." She had large experience in making griddle cakes at both the Omaha and the Nashville Expositions.

The management of the Corn Kitchen prepare and serve free of charge the following dishes: The different corn soups; yellow and white corn meal mush; hominy grits; hominy in cream; hominy *au*

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gratin; all kinds of corn fritters, from yellow, white, and sweet corn; the different griddle cakes with maple syrup; frumentum pudding; maizena blanc mange; corn muffins; yellow and white corn bread; Boston brown bread; popcorn.

Russians make considerable inquiry at the Kitchen about how the meals are ground and as to the machinery necessary to make them. Two Roumanian cooks have frequented the kitchen a great deal and have learned how the dishes are prepared. The Vegetarian Club of France has also interested itself, and sent cooks to learn something about Indian corn and its products. The International Restaurant of the city of Paris has introduced a few of the dishes into its bill of fare. All this shows that something essential is being accomplished by the propaganda.

It is interesting to compare the above list of foods with the water gruel made in Roumania from the flint-corn meal. It is still more interesting to compare it with the corn cakes made in Italy called *polenta*, hard as nuts, containing neither eggs nor milk nor lard. It is from these that Europe has taken its dislike to corn as a table food, and it must not be forgotten that prejudice is always hard to overcome. As to prejudice, the following incident is a good illustration: Not long since Count Nadady, who owns large estates in the corn-growing district of Hungary, and has perhaps the finest stud of American horses in Europe, was in a coaching party touring the southern Alps. Some American gentlemen in the party had canned sweet corn, and gave a sample of it to Mr. Lumière, the inventor of the cinematograph. The latter seemed to like his new dish very much, but one day found a few silks in his can and confided his mysterious discovery to the Count. "Why," said his lordship, "that is only food for animals!" This little episode tells the whole story. It is needless to say that no more sweet corn was eaten by Mr. Lumière on that trip.

Another difficulty in popularizing corn foods in parts of Europe will be found in the equipment of the family kitchen; for what little cooking is done there in the family is accomplished on a small oil or gas stove. Corn foods, at their best, must be served hot — a fact which precludes the good offices of the public baker. In countries where the people are very conventional, and where long custom has fixed their habits, they grow to look upon domestic changes with a mild sort of abhorrence. I fear, therefore, that naturally they would be slow to make their stoves and stove furniture suitable for the preparation of corn dishes.

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In the plain, practical, but comprehensive and massive exhibit which Director Dodge has made of American agriculture at the Universal Exposition stands a case not more than three feet square and six feet high. In that case are samples of the more important products and by-products of Indian corn. It might be thought that a list of these commodities would be prosaic and commonplace. Not so. On the contrary, it is highly interesting, and, to the thoughtful man, more than suggestive. In that collection you may find corn meal (yellow and white), pearl hominy, hulled corn, cream of maize, granulated corn meal, canned green corn, canned hulled corn, maizena, samp, degerminated samp, cream meal, self-rising pancake flour, quick malt, brewers' grits, husks for mattresses, cellulose made of pith for packing the coffer-dams of battle-ships, paper stock prepared from shells of the corn-stalk, degerminated brewers' meal, Bourbon whiskey, alcohol, bolted corn meal, hulled corn meal, feed of ground corn blades and stalks and cobs, varnish, cob pipes, lager beer, fancy table syrup, pop corn, table grits, British gum, salves, laundry starch, table starch, frumentum, flaked hominy, gum paste, corn oil, vulcanized corn oil, oil cake, grape sugar, gluten feed, glucose, confectioner's crystal glucose, and confectioner's paste.

Many of these by-products in turn give rise to a second series of most interesting products. For example, corn oil, vulcanized, forms the basis of a substitute for rubber. This substitute, compounded with 60 per cent commercial rubber, is used in the manufacture of sheet-rubber boots, linoleum, wheel-tires, blankets, and other articles. Crude corn oil has been used in the manufacture of toilet soap. In the rectified form it is as clear as alcohol, and is then used as the base of a substitute for olive oil. The porosity of the cornstalk pith adapts it for sheathing between the walls of battle-ships, so that if the armor is penetrated this pith swells and automatically closes the leak. It also has peculiar properties which render it of value in the fabrication of fine paper, varnish, films, imitation silks, and gun cotton and other explosives. All this not only indicates but demonstrates that our campaign for the introduction of Indian corn and its products into the markets of Europe can be made squarely upon merit. Before merit, custom will yield, prejudice will vanish, the wheat interests will give way, and kitchen furniture will undergo the necessary modifications.

These products of Indian corn make a beautiful display. They run from the richest yellow to the purest white. The meals are

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ground as finely as wheaten flour. They show novelty and variety. Thus it is that in one small, collective exhibit there is a most interesting and inviting study to all who come to Paris to gaze upon the wonders of the World's Fair.

Not many years ago a German chemist, named König, who is an authority on food composition, published the following table of food values:

	PROTEIN, PER CENT.	FAT, PER CENT.	CARBOHYDRATES, PER CENT.
Maize, American	10.17	4.78	68.83
Maize, S. E. Europe	9.42	4.13	69.37
Maize, S. W. Europe	8.64	5.80	65.79
Rice hulled	6.73	1.88	76.46
Barley, average, all countries	9.66	1.93	66.99
Barley, North American	10.48	2.42	66.94
Barley, England and Scotland	9.80	2.17	64.45
Barley, C. and N. Germany	9.88	1.80	66.75
Rye, average, all countries	10.80	1.77	70.21
Wheat, average, all countries	12.04	1.91	69.07

	FUEL VALUE OF ONE POUND CALORICS.
Cornmeal	17.30
Barley, granulated	16.40
Rice	16.80
Rye Flour	16.30
Wheat Flour	16.75

I have not the technical knowledge sufficient to expound or pass upon the scientific value of these tables, but I see that the Secretary of Agriculture at Washington, who is an enthusiastic promoter of the movement to exploit Indian corn products in Europe, has issued a pamphlet in the French language and is circulating these tables with a liberal hand. American grown Indian corn is shown to stand next to wheat in food composition.

Intelligent people agree that corn is very digestible and healthful. Now comes the crowning fact, namely that Indian corn meals can be prepared for the European markets at one-half the cost of wheat flour. Other facts are important; other facts are prominent; but this fact is predominant. By the new process of degerminating the kernel these meals stand shipment in any weather and remain good in any climate. The oil that is lost in the germ may be easily replaced with butter or lard, and the nutty flavor so welcome to most palates retained. Indian corn bread-stuff, then, is nutritious, palat-

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able, digestible, healthful, preservable, and inexpensive. These are the elements of its merit. The cry that it is "food for the pigs" may be raised against wheat or rye or oats or barley. Prejudice everywhere slowly but surely gives way to merit. Wisdom may speed the day; folly and bad management may delay it. Our dealers have not always been honest, they have not always shipped their best goods to foreign markets. Neither have the Indian corn propagandists always been wise. They have not uniformly presented the exact truth to the American public, but have been rather inclined to magnify its possibilities.

Still, much has been done, especially among the Hollanders, the Germans, and in the British Isles. Our Indian corn export has doubled in ten years. In 1890 it was, in round numbers, 100,000,000 bushels; in 1898 it was 208,000,000 bushels. The export of corn meal has likewise doubled, and is now about 800,000 barrels a year. Dr. H. W. Wiley, Chief of the Division of Chemistry in the Agricultural Department at Washington, tells me that we export a thousand tons of ground shells of corn stalks to Europe for feed annually, and that the trade may be developed into prodigious proportions, The strong, honest, practical sense of the German people is beginning to assert itself, and they will soon find that the cry set up against corn as a breadstuff is wrong. I anticipate that in another ten years the export trade of Indian corn to Germany will again have more than doubled. The annual yield of this grain in the United States is estimated to be not far from 2,000,000,000 bushels. That being so, we do not export more than one bushel out of ten. Hence the exports may increase enormously without in any way interfering with the home supply.

In my judgment, no time should be lost in promoting this movement. Russia has well-nigh finished railroad communication between Havre and Port Arthur. From the Atlantic to the Pacific by this line of rails is 7,200 miles, and 3,300 miles of this distance lies in the southern zone of Siberia. Soon a connecting line will be finished to Peking, when it will take only half the time and cost only half the money to go from London to Hong Kong by way of the Trans-Siberian Railroad than now by way of the Suez Canal by steamer. The uplands of southern Siberia grow an excellent quality of wheat, while the valleys produce an average quality of corn. In this country beef on the hoof is less than two cents a pound. Fruit does well; food is cheap; feed is cheap; fuel alone is expensive.

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The regional aspect of the western part of this zone is similar to that of Iowa and Nebraska. In extent it more than equals two States like Texas. Immigration is now setting that way, and in a few years its products are bound to affect the markets of Europe, when the Czar of Russia will no longer place immense orders with Chicago firms for army meats. The great distributing centres for these Siberian products will be Riga, Berlin, and Paris. I am thinking that the sooner the United States of America preëmpt and preoccupy these European corn markets and establish themselves therein the better it will be for our farming and exporting interests.

J. S. Crawford.

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THE FUTURE OF CHINA AND OF THE MISSIONARIES.

It is evident that the books which have been written on China will, for the most part, have to be revised. They describe a condition which is passing away. Out of the existing riots and disturbances will come a new system. It cannot be possible that such great events should pass and leave no results behind. The position of China will be fixed and determined. Her relations with the foreign powers will be defined. Whether she shall be effaced as a nation, as other countries have been, and her territory shall be occupied as their own by the European powers, or whether she shall remain the self-poised, long-lived, enduring "Middle Kingdom" that she has been for centuries, with a greater freedom and new rights, will be registered by the fiat of the Western powers in the volume that is called international law.

Meantime, the ground and basis of the arguments of current political writers will have dropped from under them. The theory of their theses was that China was the ward, or the tributary, of the Western people. She was the world's oyster — to be opened, if need be, by the sword. Not in remote contingencies were her rights to be considered, but ponderous essays, and even volumes, were written to show that some countries were getting more power than they ought to have, and that other countries should assert themselves, and seize larger strips of territory. All these countries had partisans, but, like ancient Rome, China had none. New phrases were coined, and the veiled larceny of "spheres of influence" became pregnant with indefinite but portentous meaning. The "open door" became a phrase to swear by, though few men ever knew what it meant, and in its discussion the owner of the land was ignored.

Treaties — the embodiments of international concessions, and the measures of international rights — were as worthless as last year's almanac. The old enthroned exemplar of equal rights, the "favored nation" clause, under which the treaty powers were each to have all the rights that any one nation enjoyed, was as worthless as the right of a colored man to vote in some of our Southern States. Abso-

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lutely, there was no check or rein on unbridled lust for territory. Each nation took what it pleased. One of them, in order to save something for the future, stipulated that the Yangtze valley should not be ceded to any other power, while another claimed a mortgage on a southern province. In the public mind, according to the books, there was a well-defined notion that no country in which dark-complexioned men lived had the right to keep out modern civilization. By this civilization were meant commerce, inventions, railroads, and machinery. It was contended that the advanced nations of the world, whose people were white, had the undoubted right to enter in and upon the dark nations, and force them to introduce modern methods, including the etiquette of palaces. Some writers went further, even, and asserted that it was a providential duty of the cultivated nations to compel the others to adopt improved methods of government.

At the bottom of all this cant lay the thirst for gold. When commercial regulations were satisfactory the spread of civilization was secure. Commerce was king. To it mankind was tributary. Its bales and boxes were to go up every river, and circumnavigate every lake. The internal and customs systems of taxation were to be dictated by the foreigners. If the foreign powers in their treatment of the peoples of the Far East had rested on this purely commercial view of the situation, and had refrained from the seizure of territory, their conduct might have been condoned. But every now and then a country was swallowed up, sometimes by a forced protectorate, sometimes by simple deglutition. Thus went Burmah, Cochin China, Madagascar, Annam, Tonquin, Africa, Formosa, and certain parts of China; thus have now gone the Boer Republics, and thus will possibly go the whole of China. Every now and then the yellow giants, bound in chains, writhed in their agony, and desperate deeds were done under the semblance of revenge.

There is another class of thinkers who have repudiated force, relying on slow and peaceful methods of civilization. Some of them have been diplomats, notably in China. The early diplomatic corps — from 1863 to 1895 — at Peking did not violently interfere with Chinese methods. They recognized China's autonomy. They realized that Western methods were not adapted to the Orientals, and they were not insisted on. A coöperative policy existed, and all the foreign representatives acted together. The diplomatic body took up all the questions which affected foreigners generally, and pressed their consideration on the Tsungli Yamen. The era of demanding vast con-

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cessions for railroads and mines had not supervened. Promoters there were who wanted jobs; but the schemes were originated by the Chinese, and were not forced upon them.

There existed then in Peking the distinct idea that it was not desirable to assimilate China to the West. It was understood that the outer world would benefit most by refraining from introducing into her borders such modern improvements as would make her independent of the great manufacturing countries. We were selling to her immense quantities of cotton cloth; and it was not deemed desirable to introduce machinery for its manufacture, because we should then lose our market; and so with other things. Her statesmen were ignorant of international law, and did not know their power. They had made treaties by which the tariff dues were fixed at five per cent. It was best not to teach them that any nation has the right, as our Supreme Court holds, to set aside treaties by legislative acts.

The idea of the most successful corporation that the world has ever seen — the East India Company — was exactly on these lines. It did not seek to instruct or proselyte. It was a company of traders, pure and simple. *En passant*, let me say that this company had a very noted factory at Canton. Originally there were two East India companies, which were consolidated in 1600 under a charter granted by Queen Elizabeth. In 1825 the company was in its greatest glory. As a commercial body it ceased to exist in 1834. Some idea may be formed of its grandeur by the statement that the sum of £100,000 per annum was allowed for the expenses of the factory at Canton. The salary of the chief was £25,000. This corporation became too powerful, and it passed away. In 1843 five ports were opened to foreign trade, and a development of the new China began.

In this development the missionaries began to assume an important part. Here was a vast field for the exercise of religion and of charity. For two hundred and fifty years the Catholics had been in China; the Protestants were now to enter the arena. At the beginning of the new era, after the British treaty of 1843 had been made, the Protestant missionary work was quiet and unostentatious. Missionaries were settled in the open ports, and some went into the interior. France, the natural protector of the Catholic missionaries, secured the adoption of what was called the Berthemy Convention, under which the French missionary has the right to go into any province and buy land, build houses, and permanently reside. Of course, this right inured under the favored nation clause to the Pro-

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testants. It was largely made use of. The Protestant missionary began to settle in every part of the Empire. Between the years 1885 and 1895 the movement assumed the character of a new crusade. Now the finger of the world points to the missionary as being the cause of the recent outbreaks in China, and one of the questions confronting us is whether his work shall be abandoned. In the accounts that have been published of the existing disturbances, I do not find that a distinct anti-missionary feeling was the impelling force of the riots. The missionary was driven out because he was a foreigner, not because of his occupation.

The rioters found a new field of operations in the province of Chihli, where since 1870 peace has prevailed. The great riot that year at Tientsin was due to a common cause of disturbance. Very young children were received in the asylum for infants, and it was charged that their eyes were used to make medicines. The alleged kidnapping of children for this purpose, ridiculous as the accusation is, has caused several great riots in China. Riots are ordinarily organized by some secret society. They do not originate in the body of the Chinese people. To them life is simply a struggle for existence, and above all they want tranquillity. To the lower classes the missionaries bring bread and education. They gather up refuse children of the street into great Sunday schools and teach them. I have seen as many as twelve hundred children gathered in the Methodist church at Peking, divided into classes, and taught exactly as is done here. Who can predicate harm to any one from such a charitable observance as this?

In any résumé of the elements that have contributed to the progress of China, it is simply just to allude to the labors of the missionaries of all nations and of all denominations. Truthful history must say of them that they preceded commerce, that their literary and educational labors have instructed foreigners as to China and China as to foreigners, and that their exalted philanthropy has begot among the poor and the rich a great measure of respect and confidence. While it is proper to give to the Imperial Maritime Customs, to the ministers and consuls, and to the great commercial houses full praise for their labors, we should not forget gratefully to remember those unobtrusive, but influential, agents of progress, whose inspiration came from a holier source than a desire for gain.

The question of the future of the missionaries is clear-cut now, and it lies outside of any consideration as to the intrinsic value of

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their work. It is this: Conceding all the good that is claimed for missionary work, should it, in view of the present condition of China, be abandoned? That question is to be answered. In the beginning we must recognize the undoubted fact that the Catholic powers — the Pope, Spain, Italy, and especially France — will never consent that the Catholic missionaries shall be driven out of China. Their interests there are immense. There are twenty-eight Catholic bishops in the Empire, of whom three are in the province of Chihli. There are vast establishments over the country with schools, colleges, and asylums. Curiously, the Catholics have not gone into medical or surgical work, but they fill all other fields, covering industrial schools, carpenter and other shops, and all the forms of labor. The great cathedral at Peking was built mostly by the native Christians. The wealth of the Church is enormous. The chief religious societies, the Jesuits, Benedictines, Augustines, Christian Brothers, Lazarists, and Franciscans are found at many places. You cannot turn the dial of progress back. You cannot revoke all the treaties. You cannot undo the work of three centuries. If the Continental Catholic remains in China, his Protestant colleague will go thither. It is not in human nature to stand back and see others occupying fields of danger or of venture, and it is not in Christian nature to disregard the Divine command to go into the world and teach all nations.

The subject transcends the scope of human laws. It is the same "higher law" which was preached by Seward and his associates prior to 1861. No American law forbids the going of any citizens abroad; and if China should admit them into her territory, no administration in this country would dare to order them not to go thither, even if it had the power to do so. From a governmental point of view the suggestion of exclusion is impracticable of execution. If the merchant may sell his wares in China, the missionary may sell his tracts and Bibles. Happily we do not recognize any religion in our Constitution. Fortunately the religious wars which have devastated the earth are unknown here. It would not be wise to precipitate one. Let assumed truth go forth to meet assumed error. Let the peaceful battle of the ages go on. Let modern arts, commerce, and inventions follow in the wake of self-devoted religious teaching. It cannot be that the serious disturbances we have witnessed were caused by antagonism to men and women whose lives are devoted mainly to charity. The hurly-burly of the riot overtook the mis-

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sionary because he was a foreigner, not because he was a religious teacher. It was racial feeling, such as exists in this country against the negro — the feeling which raged so recently in New Orleans, New York, and Akron.

Whether or not missionary work should be circumscribed in its extent must be left to the great societies which have it in charge. From my experience I would advise that care and prudence be exercised in selecting locations for missionaries. In many localities there would not, probably, for a generation to come be any danger of destruction. In others the danger is patent. It is impossible for our Government to station soldiers all over China to protect its people. It can only demand redress when wrongs are perpetrated, and that it has always faithfully done. The spirit of adventure, which takes no account except of the letter of the Scriptural injunction, should be restrained. In some cases missionaries have defied the advice of consuls, and have gone into the most dangerous localities. There should be reason in all things. Riots occur and pass like summer clouds, and all races are eminently recuperative. A few years will obliterate the marks of the recent outrages; but let not the patient, gentle, persistent labors of decades be brought to naught.

If in the treatment of China now by the powers the grievous wrongs which have threatened to produce her effacement could be repaired, a new and peaceful era would be inaugurated. While probably the nations cannot do this efficaciously, they may, at least, call a halt. They may, at least, bind themselves to the effect that no further seizures of territory shall be permitted. It is certain that this great, calm, majestic Republic will not lend itself to any scheme of aggression, and it is to be hoped that other nations will coöperate with it in the crisis which is impending.

CHARLES DENBY.

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THE PHILOSOPHY OF FRIEDRICH FROEBEL.

It is with the kindergarten that the name of Froebel is most intimately associated; and it is this institution that has spread his fame throughout the world. Froebel himself, however, regarded the kindergarten as but a fragmentary part of educational reform. His pedagogy rests upon a distinct philosophical system, the comprehension of which is requisite to an adequate appreciation of his theories.

The philosophy of Froebel is characteristic of the time in which he lived. At the dawn of the nineteenth century the Germans were a race of poets and thinkers, and regarded all questions of material existence as secondary to the great problem of moral culture. Politically weak, the nation was yet sufficiently strong to delve into the depths of the universe and to develop the spiritual life; and thus the grandeur and dignity of man became the predominant idea of that epoch. Upon this basis there arose a multitude of conceptions as to world and life; and Froebel, although not an adherent of any particular school, was most closely associated with the movement designated as "romanticism," which was most perfectly personified in Schelling. It was for Krause, however, that Froebel seemed to have the greatest affinity, and from him the great educational reformer borrowed much of his technical phraseology.

According to Froebel's conviction, the world is the creation and revelation of a Supreme Being, operating not from without, but from within, as the essence of all things. Briefly formulated, "The divine agency, operating in every form and object of creation, constitutes the nature of that particular form or object." Thus founded in God, the infinite complexity of the universe becomes an organic whole; the same laws everywhere become operative; and, most important of all, nature and the intellectual life become one and inseparable. Therefore, whatever at first glance may seem an evil loses this signification so soon as it is considered in relation to the universe.

Nevertheless, the unit, by becoming part of the whole, does not sacrifice its independence; for God, being life, infinite and inexhaust-

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ible, is imparted to every atom of the universe; and thus every atom becomes invested with the mission of transmitting and propagating, according to its special nature and endowment, the whole sum of existence in which it is rooted. Inseparable from the totality of creation every particle is compelled to absorb this totality — to take it into account in every situation and in every act.

This applies above all to humanity; for if man, like nature, is a manifestation of the divine essence, the manifestation must here necessarily attain to higher expression and fuller consciousness. The operation of the divine agency in nature is effected by silent physical laws; in man, by the exercise of independent judgment. Thus we perceive how the philosopher endeavors to establish harmony between dependence and liberty, between the silently operative laws of nature and the manifestation of the human will.

These views derive an especial importance, not so much from their instructive content, as from the personal manner with which Froebel advances them. Of an intuitive, artistic nature, Froebel impresses us, above all, by the whole-hearted manner in which he accepts and advances doctrines which, on closer examination, occasionally reveal a certain ambiguity of ideas. Endowed with a full consciousness of life he is desirous of carrying this spirit into every form of activity. He constantly endeavors to clarify his spiritual experiences and to develop the ideas that arise within him. Although dominated by a strong desire to turn from the superficialities and distractions of daily life to the contemplation of divine nature, his love of humanity impels him to practical activity in order that his fellowmen may also be directed to that God-given nature in whom their being is centred. Froebel's life, therefore, may serve as an example of high spiritual activity; and all his thoughts and actions may be said to have been deeply rooted in what the Germans designate as "Gemüt."

The fundamental principle of Froebel's work is the elimination of the element of chance from the affairs of life. The human race with him is a product of evolution; and the birth and progress of humanity is presented as analogous to the development of the vegetable kingdom — growing and expanding from within, ever blossoming, unfolding, and enlightening.

The name "Kindergarten" arises from this conception. But it would be erroneous to assume that Froebel stops here, contenting himself with that silent contemplation so characteristic of numerous

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romanticists. With Froebel life was not a bare fact, but a mission. According to his conception, creation, in its essence, is not mere existence, but activity. Knowledge, also, must be preceded by action; and here, indeed, all human progress must be centred. But activity can only then be engendered when the great contrasts of life are clearly defined, in order that a means of mediation and unification may be secured to the ultimate establishment of harmony. This goal can never be attained, however, without incessant and independent action. Consequently, it is the duty of every individual to labor in the cause of culture.

Froebel did not succeed in establishing perfect harmony between natural development and free activity; and this failure constitutes the weakest part of his pedagogical system. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that the great educator was indefatigable in his efforts to establish such a unification; and, after all, it may be said of him, as of many other great thinkers, that the presence of striking contradictions is frequently conducive to the fullest development of life.

Froebel's conception of activity is centralized in the proposition that of all contrasts that between the internal and the external world must be accepted as the most important; hence, a unification of these extremes must be regarded as a primary consideration. Now, the inner life, in order to be understood, must be outwardly expressed; while external manifestations must penetrate to our inner consciousness before they can be realized. Consequently, our first task consists in externalizing the inner and internalizing the outer world — *i. e.*, in unifying the fundamental extremes of nature. This is accomplished by the forms of activity known as presentation and creation.

As our loftiest conception of the Almighty is that of the Creator, so also our highest conception of the function of man is associated with the creative principle. The primary function of education, therefore, is the presentation of our individual life; and suffice it to say that this conception greatly increases the ideal value of labor. Man does not labor solely to earn his bread, but principally in order that the divine, the spiritual, within him may find expression, so that he may become conscious of the nature of God and of his own Godlike identity. Bread, dwelling-house, and clothes, though acquired in the course of labor, are yet unimportant accessories. When elevated to this standard, labor is brought into intimate relation with religion, each being complementary of the other. "Religion, without activity or labor, is ever in danger of becoming empty speculation, vapid

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enthusiasm, in short, an unsubstantial phantom; while labor, without religion, degrades man to the level of a beast of burden or a machine."

These convictions lead to the recognition of the relation between nature and culture. The latter is not in itself creative and cannot presume to dictate to the former. On the contrary, culture must observe and follow nature and seek to develop it. Only at a very advanced stage is it permissible to indicate the direction. His own doctrine Froebel preferably designates as "training by development"; and he holds that education can be fruitful only when engrafted upon the individuality of the pupil, so that the child-nature may be developed like a bud or a shoot. According to his theory, education must assume that there is an inner life in every soul by which it becomes united with the universe; otherwise all efforts at development would be futile. Education is in danger of becoming spiritless so soon as it treats man as a vacuity.

The primary object of education is to stimulate independent action. Where proper training exists, necessity must be converted into freedom, law into personal judgment, and outward pressure into free-will. The child, despite all deviations and interruptions, must be made to strive persistently toward the goal — as determined by its individuality; it must be treated as a creative being, and stimulated to the exercise of independent activity. True, independence cannot be developed without an incessant struggle against obstacles; but this very struggle, if victorious, will be conducive to peace, happiness, and liberty, and will elevate man to the likeness of God. Religion must beware of weakening personal independence by encouraging hopes of an external reward. It must, above all, guard against inculcating into the childish mind the doctrine that good deeds will meet with a material recompense; for this doctrine fosters false expectations of life, leads to an erroneous criticism of events, and tends ultimately to destroy peace of mind and strength of will. Far better is it to let our youth realize that noble, disinterested endeavor is often followed by pain and suffering; but that herein the inner, spiritual, and true life becomes more clearly manifest and shows its superiority. "Renunciation and privation to the end of our spiritual welfare" — this is the first condition to the attainment of the highest development.

In accordance with his fundamental purpose, viz., the harmonizing of contrasts, Froebel seeks to develop man, both as an individual and as a member of society. He regards the child both as an inde-

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pendent unit and as a part of the general organism of life; and, consequently, all his utterances have a two-fold application. For example, man can develop his individuality only in connection with others, and is, indeed, born with the social instinct; on the other hand, life in the community is valuable only because it stimulates the development of the individual. To Froebel, however, the kernel of all activity is the representation of the individual life. Man does not attain to full consciousness until he objectifies his personal being; nor can he understand outward nature until he has assimilated, modified, and expressed it anew.

"Training by development" demands the closest conformity of the educator to nature. For this reason, he must closely follow the progress of the child-soul through all the successive stages; and these stages, though part of a general plan, are to be kept distinctly sundered. The method to be followed in this regard is clearly elucidated in Froebel's masterwork, "Die Menschenerziehung" ("The Education of Man"), and emphasizes that nothing shall be demanded of the individual, mature or immature, but adequately to fulfil the requirements of each period of life. Froebel himself, it is true, took an increasing interest in the period of early childhood; and this attitude was entirely in accord with his general conception of training.

The period of childhood affords the most fruitful soil to the educator. The pupil here presents himself as an organic entity, not yet bound by complex relations to the outer world. The springs of life are strong within, and would seem to direct the educator as to the general trend of the youthful faculties; while all the conditions favor the establishment of an intimate relationship between teacher and pupil. Froebel vigorously asserts his conviction that the internal and vitalizing element diminishes in the course of years, while the force of outward expansion increases. Consequently, the whole educational fabric rests upon a proper appreciation of the budding nature of the child. This must be directed into the proper channels, and never diverted from its bent, in order that the inner or spiritual life may ever predominate, and that diversity may be subservient to unity.

Our primary aim, therefore, should be to awaken and to stimulate the innate principle of life slumbering within, so that this principle may be developed according to eternal laws. Primarily, it is the mother upon whom this duty devolves; the family circle thus becoming invested with a high significance as the first seat of culture. The agency of the divine spirit in human affairs first manifests itself in the

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bosom of the family, whence all regeneration and rejuvenation must proceed. "At present, it is to the quiet and secluded sanctuary of the family that we must look for a revival of the divine spirit among mankind."

While engaged in the elaboration of these principles, Froebel evolved the conception of the kindergarten, an institution designed to fill a hitherto neglected gap in the development of the child — the interval between the nursery and the schoolroom. Froebel perceived that this stage of life was not sufficiently appreciated, and that the vital and active impulses of childhood were neglected; and thus there arose within him the idea of the general establishment of kindergartens, in which child-nature was to be cultivated like a plant, under the skilful supervision of experienced gardeners, and in accordance with eternal laws. Here the teaching of Froebel regarding the importance of creative work and the expression of the inner life obtains especial recognition. The kindergartens, indeed, are particularly designed to stimulate the creative impulse, and this, primarily, by means of pleasant games, here appearing in the form of independent exercises, and serving as an introduction to a wider acquaintance with nature.

Play is the highest stage in the development of the child; being the free, untrammelled expression of the inner nature — the presentation of child life according to inward necessity. The elaboration of this idea constitutes the salient feature of Froebel's achievement. He analyzed the plays of childhood, demonstrated their important bearing upon the development of the soul, and arranged, in strict systematic sequence, a series of occupations for the furtherance of the creative impulse, ever dominated by the idea that everything we behold is the outward presentation of an inner life, and that all diversity must centre in unity.

Although Froebel was occasionally defective in execution, freely introducing symbolism where misapplied, and expressing mere theories in a spirit of dogmatism, these defects in nowise detract from his splendid achievement as an analyst and promoter of child-play. He has opened a great domain, revealed an inexhaustible fund of life, and invested it with a universal interest.

Froebel believed that the kindergartens would exercise an extraordinary influence on life in general; and he confidently expected that the extension of these institutions would tend to raise the standard of true culture, both in an intellectual and an ethical sense,

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bring man into closer relationship with nature, and promote maternal affection and feminine influence. He contended that we were overburdened with external attainments, and were unwisely disposed to augment these, while neglecting the cultivation of our innate faculties. In his opinion a liberation from our unnatural system of education will be secured as soon as insight and independent judgment shall be stimulated by a spontaneous and rational development of the individual.

This is the mission of the new education: the influence of our children, owing to the establishment of a closer relationship with them, will affect our own life and make us purer and better. Krause, in his philosophy, tells us that we must return to a state of childhood, if we would have an impressionable heart and a mind receptive of truth. Froebel believes that veracity and simplicity will be promoted as soon as we learn to institute and cultivate a beneficent intercourse with our children.

Froebel undoubtedly expected too much of his work; but for this he surely does not incur our censure. No man is capable of lifelong and single-hearted effort unless inspired by the conviction that the especial thing which he advocates may prove a pivotal center of affairs. Nor will the simplicity of the reformatory methods advocated by Froebel detract from the greatness of his achievement — more particularly when we consider that all fundamental reforms were, like his, originally simplifications. This applies not only to education, but to religion, art, philosophy, and many other departments as well. The kernel of reform usually consists in the establishment of an essential, original, and natural basis, and in the coincident abrogation of a network of artificialities, superfluities, and complications.

Furthermore, it is indisputable that, notwithstanding all the great changes wrought during the nineteenth century, the philosophy of Froebel has remained a fruitful source of inspiration. True, Herbart is superior to Froebel as regards clearness of conception, and he is undoubtedly the more scientific. But in many important particulars the influence of Froebel is paramount. This especially applies to his lofty conception of the dignity of man, whom he ever represents as an organic entity. He strenuously defends the conviction that culture centres in the "Gemüt," and must, therefore, be developed from within; and this doctrine becomes a safeguard against hyper-intellectual training. He places independent activity in the foreground, and succeeds in tracing it to its elementary stages; and,

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while ever according the full exercise of individuality, he brings man into relation with society at large.

As the follower of Comenius and Pestalozzi, Froebel gave a powerful stimulus to childlife and inaugurated a closer investigation into the nature of the child; and thus, by reason of his indefatigable labors as an organizer, he eventually converted a movement, previously confined to a few scientists, into a matter of universal interest and importance.

Despite its numerous advantages, however, the philosophy of Froebel does not furnish a sound basis for an educational system; and this because, as already stated, it is fundamentally established upon conflicting principles. Froebel's pedagogy regards spiritual development as a natural growth — as a slow and sure development from within, analogous to that visible in the plant world. On the other hand, the principal tenet of his philosophy is the establishment of independent activity, which would necessarily elevate man *above* nature, and, indeed, places him in contrast with it.

In his theory of natural development, Froebel resembles Rousseau; in that of independent activity, he approaches Fichte. In the former instance education must be entirely subordinate to nature and content itself with the removal of obstructions; in the latter it must proceed independently, ever presenting new ideals of life. Undoubtedly, both methods are essential: natural development and independent activity together are requisite. But we must arrive at a satisfactory conclusion as to which of these is to be accepted as the leading principle; and the pedagogy of Froebel presents no solution of this question.

RUDOLF EUCKEN.

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IMPERIAL AND COLONIAL PREFERENTIAL TRADE.

The relations of the British Colonies to the Empire, while continuing the same as in former years in form and in character of mutual obligations and control, are undoubtedly undergoing modifications of an important character. This, however, does not relate to laws defining, on the one hand, the extent of paramount authority, and, on the other hand, the degree of subordination, but rather as to the development of a marked spirit of imperialistic unity, and of a harmony of action based upon sympathy and sentiment.

The revolt of the American colonies, and the erection of a new nation upon what seemed for the time to be the ruins of the British Colonial Empire, marked a turning point in Britain's Colonial policy. This great blow shattered the policy of governing the Colonies from London; of interfering with their domestic affairs; and of making them preserves for British merchants, shippers, and manufacturers through arbitrary restrictions upon Colonial manufactures and trade. A more liberal and rational Colonial policy was entered upon. In Canada the French Canadian inhabitants were treated with justice and liberality; and by degrees the policy of Great Britain grew more forbearing, and the absence of interference in Colonial affairs grew more marked. Canada won for herself responsible government, in 1837, more through the removal of internal disorders and abuses than through the change of any Imperial policy at variance with the spirit of justice and liberty in the course pursued by Great Britain. Since confederation, in 1867, Canada has been truly a self-governing Colony. She makes her own laws, fixes her own tariff, controls her own military system, and contributes not a single dollar to the revenue of Great Britain. The only burden upon her in consequence of her connection with the Imperial system is the payment of the Governor-General's salary of $50,000 per annum.

While under the provisions of the Canadian constitution the home government may veto any Canadian legislation within two years of the passage of the law, the power has never been exercised except at

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Canadian request. The judicial committee of the Privy Council in London has appellate jurisdiction in all Canadian cases when a constitutional question is involved; and the concurrence of the Imperial Parliament would be required to sanction any change in the constitution of Canada. In these respects only does Canada come short of being independent and self-governing.

The recent action of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand in placing contingents of Colonial soldiers at the service of the British Government in South Africa was entirely voluntary. The expense of raising and equipping the troops sent from Canada and of transporting them to South Africa was borne by the Canadian Government; and in addition to this the British allowance of pay has been supplemented by an additional grant of the same amount by Canada. The state of sentiment which prompted this action seems to have been chiefly incited by the remarkable demonstrations incident to the Jubilee year, when the Premiers of the various Colonies, accompanied by detachments of Colonial troops, leading Colonial statesmen, and a great host of Colonial citizens, met in London and added to the dignity and impressiveness of the great pageant. Following this, Canada gave to British imports a preference of 12½ per cent in 1897–8, and of 25 per cent in 1898–9. This preference has been increased in the last session of Parliament to 33⅓ per cent.

The granting of this preference was severely criticised by the Conservative opposition of Canada on the ground that Great Britain gave no preference to Canada in return, which it is asserted might have been obtained. The recent increase of the preference to 33⅓ per cent has not been received with a cordial spirit of approbation by the manufacturing interests of Canada. The Conservative line of adverse criticism is met by the answer that Great Britain admits all the natural products of Canada free of duty; that Canadian exports to Great Britain exceed Canadian imports from Great Britain in the proportion of three to one; and that it was only reasonable that a policy should be adopted which would tend to stimulate the British export trade to Canada. In connection with this view of the matter account is taken of the fact that the fiscal policy of the United States renders our exports of farm and forest products to that country insignificant in volume, while our imports from that country are enormous, exceeding our exports to it in the ratio of nearly three to one; and this fact is held to furnish an additional reason for seeking to stimulate imports from the country to which we are bound by ties of interest.

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The claim made by the Conservative leaders, that preferential treatment to Great Britain should only have been given in return for preferential treatment accorded by the tariff of that country to Colonial food products, and that such preferential treatment can be obtained if sought for, is to be one of the party issues in the next Dominion election, which may take place before the close of the present year, and which must take place before the end of July, 1901. That this claim of ability of the Conservative party to obtain such arrangement, if placed in power, will serve as an issue at the polls is foreshadowed by the amendment offered by Sir Charles Tupper, the leader of the Conservative party, to the motion of Mr. Fielding, the finance minister, when presenting the financial statement of the Government for the last fiscal year. The amendment offered by the Conservative leader is as follows:

"This house is of opinion that a system of mutual trade preference between Great Britain and Ireland and the Colonies would greatly stimulate increased production in and commerce between these countries, and thus promote and maintain the unity of the empire; and that no measure of preference which falls short of the complete realization of such a policy should be considered as final or satisfactory."

Mr. Chamberlain, the English Colonial Secretary, met the assumption thus presented, that Great Britain would revive the corn laws and tax the food of her citizens for the benefit of her Colonial dependencies, by the following statement made in answer to a motion by Mr. Hedderwick, M. P., bearing upon the questions of Colonial and Imperial relations. Mr. Chamberlain's reference to the matter was this:

"We are not going to interfere in the domestic affairs of the Colonies, nor are they going to interfere in ours. I have never advocated, as has been reported, the formation of an imperial Zollverein, but I have pointed out that if there was to be any kind of fiscal arrangement with the Colonies, I believe the only form that would meet with the slightest favor would be an imperial Zollverein, in which there would be free trade between the portions of the empire and duty as against strangers."

This would seem to be explicit enough; and the obvious inference is that no proposal for preferential duties upon food for the advantage of the Colonies would be considered by Great Britain, except as a corollary of the free admission of all British manufactures and products into the markets of the Colonies. Nothing, in fact, short of such an Imperial Zollverein could be considered.

It is proposed to inquire into the relative volume of British trade

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with the Colonies and with foreign countries, and into various matters fiscal and commercial, with a view to arriving at a conclusion as to whether any reasonable hope can be entertained by Canada that the British Government will concede what Sir Charles Tupper asserts can be obtained. It is also proposed to deal with the practical outcome of the granting of preferential duties by Canada to Great Britain, as relates to the influence exerted by that policy upon the volume of exports from the United States to Canada.

A scrutiny of the trade returns of Great Britain will give satisfactory evidence that the assumption of the Conservative party of Canada that Great Britain will impose a tax upon foreign food products for the benefit of Canada is not well founded. In the statement of British trade for 1898, which is the latest for which returns are available, the pound sterling has been converted into dollars at the rate of five dollars to the pound, and percentages have been worked out to illustrate more strikingly the story that the figures tell:

SUMMARY OF BRITISH TRADE RETURNS, 1898.

Total imports	$2,351,892,000
Imports from British possessions	497,169,000
Foreign imports	1,854,723,000
Colonial imports percentage of total imports	20.7
Imports from British North American Colonies	$103,773,000
British North American Colonies percentage of total imports	4.41

EXPORTS.

Total exports	$1,470,069,000
Colonial exports	450,553,000
Foreign exports	1,019,516,000
Colonial percentage of total exports	30.64
Exports to British North American Colonies	$37,705,000
British North American colonies percentage of total exports	2.56

TOTAL TRADE.

Total trade	$3,821,962,000
Total Colonial trade	947,723,000
Total foreign trade	2,874,239,000
Colonial trade percentage of total trade	24.77
Total trade British North American Colonies	$141,478,000
British North American Colonies percentage of total trade	3.70

The proposal of the Canadian Conservative opposition, it will thus be seen, is that Canada with less than five per cent of the import

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trade of Great Britain, with less than three per cent of the export trade, and with less than four per cent of the total trade of that country, should be put upon a favored footing in the markets of that country by placing duties upon the breadstuffs, the animals and their products, of the United States and of other foreign nations, and by admitting all from Canada and other Colonies, free of duty. It requires but little reflection to arrive at the conclusion that British interests will not permit the adoption of such a policy even at the united requests of all the Governments of the British Colonial Empire, much less at that of Canada, the proportions of whose trade are so insignificant as compared with the enormous volume of Britain's aggregate trade as to render the proposal to tax the British consumer for the benefit of the Canadian producer utterly inadmissible. In fact, there is scant reason to suppose that an Imperial Zollverein, with free trade throughout the Empire, and the admission of British goods free of duty into all the Colonial markets, would possess attractions for British statesmen, if it were to be secured at the cost of duties upon food products for the benefit of Colonial producers.

In the present state of Britain's trade in the export of the products of her skilled labor it is evident that a tax upon the food of her artisans will not be resorted to. For half a century free trade has been a cardinal feature in British commercial policy. Cheapness of production is essential to the continuance of Britain's supremacy in the business of exporting finished wares. Cheap raw material and cheap food, the latter of which is practically a raw material in the production of goods, are essential to success. A tax upon either would do violence to the time-honored policy of the great free-trade power, whose goods are found in all markets, and whose merchant marine performs three-quarters of the ocean-carrying trade of the world. This supremacy in the export of manufactures is now threatened by the keen competition of Germany and the United States, and the struggle already in full play is certain to become more acute.

The volume of export of manufactures from the United States has increased greatly in recent years. Already the Great Republic has practical control of the iron and steel trade in all neutral markets. This trade has slipped from the grasp of Great Britain with no prospect of its return. The intelligence of operatives, the vast aggregations of capital, and the methods of management in the United States, in pushing trade, give promise that further inroads will follow. The manufacturing interests of the United States, if confined merely to

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the supply of the demands of that nation, are of vast magnitude. This market is secured to American establishments by heavy duties upon imports, which prevent foreign competition, and enable the realization of high prices and great profits; and surplus of production can be unloaded upon markets where British goods are the competitor, with little regard to price received. Notwithstanding the clamor for protection in the United States, it is doubtful whether many lines of goods are not actually produced in that country cheaper than in any other, leaving the American manufacturer able, if content with small profits, to compete with British and German goods in various lines in all markets.

It is, therefore, evident that under the existing conditions of trade Great Britain is in the last degree unlikely to place a tax upon food, unless indeed the pressure of successful competition should lead her voluntarily to abandon the world's markets, for access to which she now demands an open door, and should leave her content to take refuge in the citadel of an Imperial Zollverein, through the agency of which she could control the markets of the Empire, by means of absolute free trade with all of her Colonies and heavy duties against the outside world.

It is in the highest degree unlikely that Canada is now, or will be for many years to come, prepared to accept the suggestion of an Imperial Zollverein embracing the admission of British imports free of duty. In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1899, the total imports from Great Britain were $36,945,000. Of this amount the dutiable portion was $27,450,000, upon which duty was collected to the amount of $7,328,000. The proposal to surrender this large amount of revenue would be met by two serious difficulties. Canada has a large debt amounting to $345,160,000, from which deduct $78,887,000 of assets actual and nominal, leaving a net debt, counting nominal assets as good, of $266,273,000, or $48.36 per capita. Canada cannot spare so large an amount of revenue; and the manufacturing interests, which are of considerable moment, and have been largely developed by a moderate system of protection, would be severely injured by such a policy, and would probably command a sufficient amount of influence to defeat the party proposing it.

The effect produced by the Canadian preferential tariff in favor of British imports affords an interesting subject for investigation. The result thus far has been a disappointment to those who anticipated a large increase, on the one hand, of the importation of British manu-

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factures, and a decrease, on the other hand, of the importation of manufactures from the United States. Two full financial years have elapsed since the differential rate was made 25 per cent, it having been 12½ per cent in the year previous. In spite of this change of policy, the importation from the United States has increased rapidly; and the state of trade at the close of the year 1899 showed large importations from the United States, a large free list applicable to such importations, and a larger balance of trade in favor of that country than in any previous year.

The general state of trade between Canada and the United States and between Canada and Great Britain for a period embracing the last ten years, according to the Canadian Trade and Navigation returns, has been as follows:

EXPORTS.

	GREAT BRITAIN.	UNITED STATES.
1890	$48,353,000	$40,522,000
1891	49,280,000	40,522,000
1892	64,906,000	38,988,000
1893	64,080,000	43,923,000
1894	68,538,000	35,809,000
1895	61,856,000	41,297,000
1896	66,690,000	44,448,000
1897	77,227,000	49,373,000
1898	104,998,000	45,705,000
1899	99,091,000	45,133,000
Total	$705,019,000	$426,336,000

IMPORTS FOR CONSUMPTION.

	GREAT BRITAIN.	UNITED STATES.
1890	$43,390,000	$52,291,000
1891	42,047,000	53,685,000
1892	41,348,000	53,137,000
1893	43,148,000	58,221,000
1894	38,717,000	53,034,000
1895	31,131,000	54,634,000
1896	32,979,000	58,574,000
1897	29,412,000	61,649,000
1898	32,500,000	78,705,000
1899	37,060,000	93,007,000
Total	$371,732,000	$616,937,000

Excess of exports to Great Britain over exports to the United States for the period, $278,683,000.

Excess of imports from the United States over imports from Great Britain for the period, $245;205,000.

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The export returns for the last three years of the above period show the marked influence exercised by the cold storage system lately introduced, and of other means used to stimulate the export of Canadian cheese, bacon, eggs, butter, fruits, and other food products to Great Britain. The exports to the United States, as given in the trade returns, though small as compared with the exports to Great Britain, are really greater than the actual amount of Canadian products exported, as coin and bullion are included to the extent of millions annually; and the estimate of the short returns, which comprise a portion of each year's export returns, is a rough guess at the amount of produce that leaves the country by farmer wagons and in other ways, without being reported. This estimate averages $3,400,000 annually for the period. There is good reason to suppose that the smuggling of coal oil, cotton goods, and other wares from the United States will quite offset the unreported exports. The amount of coin and bullion and of estimated short returns included in the export returns for the above period is: Coin and bullion, $29,453,000; short returns, $34,206,000. To secure a fair basis for comparison, both items should be deducted from the exports of Canadian produce for the period.

The import returns for this period reveal the tendency to diminution of imports from Great Britain. For the first five years of the period the annual amount was greater than in the last year under the stimulating influence of a differential duty of 25 per cent. In the first three years after 1872 the imports from Great Britain for consumption averaged $64,000,000 annually; and in all but two of the years between 1872 and 1895 the imports from Great Britain exceeded those of 1899.

The labor of separating manufactures from the unclassified list of imports prevents me from making a reliable statement of the import of manufactures for a period covering more than the last two years. The volume of this class of imports from the United States has been increasing rapidly for some years past, while the tendency to diminution of imports from Great Britain was not arrested in the last fiscal year through the influence of differential duties to a sufficient extent to overtake the ratio of increase in imports of manufactures from the United States.

The import into Canada of manufactures from Great Britain and from the United States for the two fiscal years ending June 30, 1899, was as follows:

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GREAT BRITAIN.

1898.

Dutiable manufactures	$21,696,000
Free manufactures	5,236,000
Total	$26,932,000

1899.

Dutiable manufactures	$26,426,000
Free manufactures	5,172,000
Total	$31,598,000

Increase, $4,666,000, or 17.32 per cent.

UNITED STATES.

1898.

Dutiable manufactures	$29,709,000
Free manufactures	10,953,000
Total	$40,662,000

1899.

Dutiable manufactures	$35,353,000
Free manufactures	13,292,000
Total	$48,645,000

Increase, $7,983,000, or 19.63 per cent.

This statement reveals the unexpected fact that the imports of manufactures from the United States were greater than the corresponding importations from Great Britain to the extent of $13,730,000 in 1898, and of $17,047,000 in 1899. In the matter of total imports for consumption from Great Britain and from the United States, the increase in the case of Great Britain was 10½ per cent between 1897 and 1898, and 14.02 per cent between 1898 and 1899, while in the case of the United States the increase for the first named period was 27.66 per cent, and for the second period 18.07 per cent.

At first glance it may seem surprising that the importation of manufactures from the two countries should be apparently so little influenced by the differential duties. The solution of the matter is found in the fact that in the line of manufactures, as well as in all other lines, the importations by Canada from the two countries are almost entirely distinct in character; so that discrimination will tend to increase the volume of transactions with Great Britain in the kinds of goods we purchase from that country, by reducing cost, and will at the same time have little influence upon the volume of our purchases from the United States of that class of goods furnished to

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us by that country, and produced to a limited extent only in Great Britain. This view of the case is borne out by the fact that the average duties upon all dutiable imports from the two countries give no evidence of the existence of discriminating rates. The rate of duty upon dutiable imports from Great Britain entered for consumption in 1899 was 26.27, while the corresponding rate from the United States was 24.13.

It may be reasonably held, therefore, predicating the opinion upon some of the facts above set forth, that Great Britain will not in the near future impose duties upon her food supply for the benefit of her Colonial possessions. The relative unimportance of their trade, as compared with the trade of foreign countries, renders it entirely improbable that such a proposal will receive favorable consideration. Due consideration will also without doubt be given to the probability that such a course would provoke unfriendly fiscal regulations and retaliation on the part of many of the foreign states with whom she has trade relations.

As regards the preferential treatment accorded by Canada to Great Britain, the results under the application of the 25 per cent reductions for the year 1899, as relating to the United States, are that the increase of total imports from the United States over the previous year were 18.07 per cent; that the increase in the importation of manufactures from the United States over the previous year was 19.63 per cent; that the balance of trade against Canada on total exports and imports was $56,509,000; that Canadian farm products were well-nigh shut out of the United States by duty rates ranging from 25 to 100 per cent; and that out of a total of $64,618,000 of free goods imported into Canada for consumption, the United States furnished $48,535,000, or 75.11 per cent. This is a condition of trade matters that ought to be satisfactory to the United States. It can be hardly said to be satisfactory to Canada, chiefly for the reason that while she purchased 62½ per cent of her total imports from the United States, the tariff of that country seems to have been arranged with the purpose of preventing the sale of any of her products in exchange. Her scale of duties upon the total imports from the United States is 11.52 per cent, and upon dutiable imports for consumption 24.13 per cent, while the general rate of the United States upon total imports is 24½ per cent, and upon dutiable imports 49½ per cent.

The action of the Canadian Government in advancing the differential rate to 33⅓ per cent is probably a mistake. The step meets

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with the general disapproval of the Canadian manufacturers, and there is force in the Conservative objection that the action is purely sentimental, as the British tariff presents no features applicable to ourselves that do not apply to all other nations. It is not at all improbable that in the event of Conservative success at the general election now but a few months distant, the entire system of preferential duties will be swept away, unless Great Britain should reciprocate by granting preferential treatment for Canadian products in her markets.

In the meantime it is gradually dawning upon the Canadian mind that there is a more direct road to securing a remedy for the great disparity existing between the volume of exports to the United States and of imports from that country than preferential duties in favor of Great Britain. As the fact becomes known that while we buy $48,000,000 of manufactures from the United States, we are only permitted to sell $6,000,000 of our farm products in return, this query is naturally suggested: If the American tariff continues to bar our farm products from the markets of that country in exchange for the goods we buy, why not put our duties up to the American standard of 50 per cent, and commence feeding the operatives that produce the goods by securing the production of the latter in our own country? Upon the action of the United States will probably rest, in the near future, the form of answer to this question.

JOHN CHARLTON.

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THE BRITISH GENERAL ELECTION.

A PRIMARY difference between the presidential election in the United States and a general election in Great Britain is that while one contest is avowedly a matter of personal preference, the other is ostensibly, often actually, a conflict around certain broadly defined principles. It is true that whilst Disraeli and Gladstone were yet alive and confronted each other in the political arena, the fight raged as closely and distinctly around a name and a personality as is the custom at presidential elections. In 1874 and in 1880 the electors throughout the Kingdom did not profess to vote either as Liberals or Tories. They voted for Gladstone or Disraeli.

With the passing away of those colossal figures the British general election has reverted to its former manner. Lord Salisbury is a statesman who, even beyond the limits of the party pale, is held in the highest esteem. But his is not a name to conjure with at the polls. On the other side Mr. Gladstone has left no successor. Accordingly, the forthcoming general election will be fought, as far as ministerialists can control it, on the question of the war in South Africa, whilst opposition candidates will endeavor to concentrate the attention and judgment of the electors on the shortcomings of the administration in respect to the conduct of the war, and on the sins of omission and commission committed by the Government during their more than five years' term of office.

Another fundamental difference between the two electoral campaigns appears in their inception and direction. A presidential election is a more or less well-ordered battle, every movement being directed by the commander-in-chief on either side. A British general election is a series of independent skirmishes, taking place all over the country, each under local command, owning no supreme general, observing no common plan of battle. The British voter knows nothing of delegates, conventions, or party managers. He walks into the polling booth and votes directly for the man of his choice. It is true that both the Conservative (now the Unionist) and the Liberal

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parties have a paid official who is supposed to undertake general supervision of party interests in the electorate throughout the kingdom. He is generally consulted by constituencies in the selection of a candidate. What he tenders in response is advice, not instruction. Nothing is calculated more quickly to put up the back of a constituency than any movement having the appearance of dictation from London.

A great gulf, wide as the Atlantic, separates the party manager of the presidential election campaign from the chief agent of the Liberal or the Unionist party in England. Whilst one has almost an unlimited supply of money at his command, and is not too grievously hampered in disposing of it for campaign purposes, the other has but a meagre subscription list, and is bound hand and foot by the Corrupt Practices Act. It is that legislation which has crippled the political party agent in Great Britain. As will presently be shown, the election agent is bound by law, under heavy penalties, to keep strict account and make full disclosure of every penny spent.

In the good old times, the costs of a parliamentary election were sufficient permanently to embarrass the estates of the combatants. In two contests that took place in the county of Hampshire — one in 1790, and the other in 1806 — the ministerial candidates disbursed between them £50,000. In respect of cost, the most famous English election took place at Northampton, a borough now modestly represented by Mr. Labouchere, who for some time had as colleague a man so far from rich as Mr. Bradlaugh. What is known in history as the Spendthrift Election was fought in 1768. It was a three-cornered duel, the combatants being the Earl of Halifax, the Earl of Northampton, and Earl Spencer. Each threw open his ancestral home — Horton, Castle Ashby, and Althorpe. All were welcome, whether they had votes or not. Hither thronged the wool-combers, the weavers, the shoemakers of Northampton. Over fourteen days the polling was spread, and for a full fortnight the free and independent electors and their friends feasted and drank. At Horton, the mob made short work of Lord Halifax's prized port. That gone, he served up his choicest claret. But, as a well-known story testifies, with claret you "get no forrader." The disgusted electors deserted Horton and went over to Castle Ashby, where port was still on tap.

It is small wonder that, in these circumstances, out of a legally testified total of 930 electors, 1,218 recorded their votes. In the

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end, it was found that the votes had been equally divided. The three earls thereupon agreed to toss for Northampton, and Lord Spencer won. He had further the satisfaction of knowing that he had spent less than the others. His bill footed up a mere £100,000, whereas Lords Halifax and Northampton had between them spent £300,000. Lord Halifax was ruined, and to this day his family estate bears the scars of the Spendthrift Election. Lord Northampton cut down the trees in his park, and sold his furniture at Compton Winyates. With the proceeds he went abroad, and died in Switzerland in poverty.

The House of Commons is elected for a period of seven years, but it has never availed itself of its full opportunity of life. It begins to fade at the end of its fifth year, and, as a rule, gratefully accepts dissolution in its sixth session. The present Parliament, which assembled for a short session on the 12th of August, 1895, was a few days short of attaining its fifth year when it was prorogued. There is, therefore, no statutory reason why it should not sit through another session, the dissolution being postponed till January—perhaps, on the whole, the most widely convenient month of the year for a general election.

Experience testifies to the sufficiency of a five-year term. Since Queen Victoria came to the throne she has summoned fourteen Parliaments. Of these, only six have exceeded the term of five years. One, memorable for its accomplished work, exceeded the date by the narrow margin of one month and sixteen days. This was the great Parliament of 1868, in which Mr. Gladstone commenced his colossal labor of legislative reform. Meeting on the 10th of December, 1868, it was dissolved on the 26th of January, 1874. The second Parliament of the Queen's reign, summoned in 1841, lasted five years, eleven months, and six days. In the century only three Parliaments have timidly entered upon their septennial year. The first Parliament of George IV. trenched by one month and nine days upon its seventh year. The Parliament of 1859 lived for six years and two months. The Parliament of 1874, which first saw Disraeli in power, as well as in office, enjoyed for twenty days its septennial privilege.

The duty of advising the sovereign as to the proper date for dismissing the sitting Parliament is not, as is commonly assumed, a Cabinet matter. It is a fact that when, early in 1874, Mr. Gladstone decided to dissolve Parliament, some of his colleagues in the Cabinet were first made acquainted with his decision on opening their morning papers. The sole arbiter in the case is the Prime

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Minister. In the time of the Georges the sovereign had a good deal to say in the business. In some royal moods the fact that the Premier desired to bring about an immediate dissolution led the King to conclude that he would keep Parliament sitting a little longer. In these times the will of the first minister of the crown is not disputed. But it is the sovereign who summons "my faithful commons" to repair to Westminster. Parliament dissolved, there is promulgated an order from the Queen in council, addressed to the Lords High Chancellors of Great Britain and Ireland, commanding them to cause writs to be issued for the election of knights, citizens, and burgesses to serve in Parliament. At least thirty-five days must elapse between the date of this mandate and the meeting of Parliament.

Up to a recent date a property qualification was essential to a Parliamentary candidate. If he stood for a county he must have either real or personal property amounting to £600 per annum. In boroughs £300 a year served. The march of democracy swept aside this obstacle and created the possibility, now enjoyed, of admission to membership of Irish Nationalist members and of the British workman. The basis of the electorate has been extended in the same spirit. In 1884 Mr. Gladstone introduced and carried a reform bill which extended household and lodger suffrage to counties uniform with boroughs. This added two millions to the electoral register.

Even with this uplifting of the gates the number of electors in Great Britain is but a small fraction of the population. According to the last census the population of Great Britain and Ireland was 37,732,922. It has considerably increased during the ten years that have sped since the counting was accomplished. Yet, according to a return presented to the Parliament in the present session, the numbers of electors who will have the privilege of voting at the forthcoming general election, assuming it is taken on the present register, is not more than 6,732,613. Nor do all who are on the register care to avail themselves of their privilege. At the general election of 1892, which scotched Home Rule and drove the Liberal party into the wilderness, not more than 4,605,442 electors went to the poll. In 1895, with a natural increment of electors on the register, the proportion was still less. It was a trifling aggregate majority on a poll of 3,867,060 that returned Lord Salisbury to power by an overwhelming majority of the House of Commons, and made possible the momentous events that followed in his administration.

England's claim to the position of the predominant partner, con-

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ferred upon her by Lord Rosebery in a memorable speech, is justified by the fact that of the something like six and three-quarter millions of electors privileged to vote, not less than 5,287,285 are resident in England and Wales. Scotland has an electoral roll of 681,-132. Ireland may poll 764,196. Yet whilst England and Wales have 495 members, and Scotland 72, Ireland sends to Westminster 103. These figures, whilst demonstrating that, proportionately, Ireland is over-represented, do not state the full case. During the last twenty years, it has frequently happened that when British political parties in the House are more evenly balanced than in the present Parliament, a section of the Irish members, representing the Nationalist party, untrammelled by allegiance to either of the British political banners, are arbiters and masters of the situation. A minor exceptional privilege enjoyed by Ireland is that whereas English and Scotch peers are ineligible for seats in the House of Commons, Irish peers, if they can secure a majority, may sit for British constituencies. This stipulation endowed the House of Commons with the presence of Lord Palmerston.

The procedure of polling at a general election is conducted in counties by the sheriff; in boroughs by a returning officer appointed by the sheriff of the county within which the borough is situate. Immediately on the writs being prepared the messenger or pursuivant of the Great Seal conveys them to the general post-office in London and delivers them to the postmaster. They are despatched by first post, postage free, to the returning officer. In country and district boroughs, the day fixed for the election must be not later than the ninth day from the receipt of the writ; and there must be an interval of three clear days between the notice and the election. In boroughs the returning officer must proceed to the election within four days after the receipt of the writ, giving two days' clear notice.

This arbitrary power carries with it some political influence. A sheriff or returning officer of Liberal principles is pretty sure to fix the polling day for a Saturday, when the working man is at liberty to spend part of his half holiday in recording his vote. Where the authority is a Unionist, Saturday is carefully avoided. Counties and boroughs are divided into polling districts, the former under the direction of the county council, the latter by the town council.

The Reform Bill of 1867 abolished one of the liveliest and most picturesque features of a parliamentary election. It did away with the hustings and the ceremony of public nomination. My earliest

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recollection of political life was attendance at the hustings in the 1865 election in South Shropshire. A vigorous attack was made by a young Radical, to-day a prop of the Unionist government, upon the family seat of a Conservative landlord. A short time before the date of the general election Sir Baldwin Leighton incurred much unpopularity by prosecuting one of his tenants for snaring rabbits. This was not overlooked in the election contest. As soon as Sir Baldwin presented himself on the hustings, smiling benignantly upon the intelligent electors, the summer sky was darkened by a cloud of rabbit skins, which fell upon the just and the unjust. The performance on the hustings was frequently gone through in dumb show, amid howls, cat-calls, and the flight of missiles even more odorous and harmful than rabbit skins.

The proceedings to-day are, by comparison, lamentably prosaic. Nominations are made in writing, the documents being subscribed by two registered electors of the county or borough, and by eight other registered electors, as assenting to the nominations. Going to the extreme contrary of the old order of things, where the multitude gathered round the hustings to witness the nomination, it is now enacted that no one save the candidate, his proposer and seconder, and one other person selected by him is entitled to attend the proceedings. It is not necessary that even these should be present. The nomination paper being duly signed, it suffices that the candidate delivers it in person to the returning officer.

Beside peers of England and Scotland, there are many persons expressly disqualified by statute from being nominated as candidates for seats in Parliament. They include all judges, from the High Court of Justice to the County Court, and the magistrates at the Westminster Police Court. Large classes of civil servants are also excluded. To this day there exists in Scotland a little known, but absolute, disqualification of a person who, twice in a year, shall have attended a Scotch Episcopal Church, where the royal family is not prayed for. This quaint enactment, too obscure to challenge repeal, will be found in "32 Geo. 3, C. 63, S. 13." In that standard book, "Rogers on Elections,"[1] indispensable to all concerned in Parliamentary elections, it is, with quite exceptional vagueness, stated that deaf and dumb persons are "said to be" ineligible to Parliament. On another point the great authority is uncompromising. "Mental imbecility," it is written, "is a disqualification for Par-

[1] "Rogers on Elections." Seventeenth edition. Stevens: London.

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liament." This dictum is supported by citation of two judgments based upon the statutes. But we all know that there are ways of evading acts of Parliament, even to the extent of driving through them coaches and four.

On receipt of the nomination papers the returning officer publishes the names of the candidates, with the names of their respective proposers and seconders, placarding them in a conspicuous position outside the building in which the election is held. If at the expiration of an hour after the handing in of the nomination papers no more candidates are nominated than there are vacancies to be filled up, he declares the persons nominated to be duly elected. If the number of candidates be in excess of the number of vacancies he adjourns the election, giving notice of a day fixed for taking the poll.

This takes place by ballot, and is girt about with innumerable precautions in order to make secrecy a real thing. The returning officer is directed to erect a reasonable number of polling booths, which he generally does, at the expense of the candidates. In not very distant times the contract for setting up polling booths was a valuable gift at the disposal of the election agent, not to be dispensed without *quid pro quo* in the form of promise to vote. As much as £40 was permitted by a statute of William IV to be expended on a county polling booth, £25 being credited for booths in boroughs. The charge is now cut down to seven guineas, whether in counties or boroughs, with an allowance of one guinea for each compartment over two. It is understood that this leaves a fair trading profit. But the contractor thinks with regret of the spacious times of William IV.

According to the act governing these disbursements, the presiding officer in a borough constituency has an allowance of three guineas a day. In the counties he draws four. He is permitted to employ polling clerks in the proportion of one to each 500 voters. These are paid in boroughs one guinea for their services on polling day; in counties they draw 30 shillings.

Whilst the presidential election is determined on a single day, the British general election straddles over nine, the maximum term within which the returning officer may fix the date of polling in counties and district boroughs. Midway in the reign of George III there was no limit to the duration of the poll. In the twenty-fifth year of his reign an act was passed fixing the maximum duration at fifteen days. Now, in boroughs and counties, the poll opens at 8 o'clock in the morning and closes at 8 o'clock in the evening of the same day. Ex-

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ception is made in the cases of the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and London, where the poll may remain open for five days. Here votes may be received orally or by means of open voting papers; the universities, for some occult reason, being specially excluded from the benefits of the Ballot Act.

When the conjurer is about to perform a box trick he makes a point of first showing the audience that the box is empty, so that, as he puts it, there may be no deception. This procedure is, for the same reason, closely followed by the presiding officers in the various polling booths. Before the poll opens they take up the ballot box and show it to the clerks and agent authorized to attend, each of whom has sworn an oath to secrecy. Satisfied that the box is empty, the presiding officer locks it and seals it up, so that it cannot be opened without breaking the seal. Thus safe-guarded it is placed in a prominent position, and the doors of the polling booth are then thrown open to the voters.

The voter having stated his name, the register is consulted, and the number, name, and description of the elector, as therein set forth, are cried aloud. A ballot paper stamped on both sides with the official mark is handed to him. This is kept secret, and an interval of not less than seven years elapses before the same mark is used again at a parliamentary election. Retiring to the secrecy of a compartment in the polling booth, the voter finds printed on his ballot paper the names of the candidates who have been duly nominated and are standing for election. Down the right hand side of the paper runs a blank column. In this he is required to mark a cross against the name of the candidate or candidates whom he desires to see elected. He then folds up the paper with the names inside, the official mark on the back. This latter he shows to the presiding officer, and drops his paper into the ballot box, assured that the secret of his preference is safe with him.

At the close of the poll the ballot boxes are sealed up to prevent the insertion of additional papers. The boxes, after having been conveyed from the various polling places to a convenient centre, are taken charge of by the returning officer, who proceeds to count the votes given for each candidate. During the counting no one may be present save the returning officer, his clerks, the agent of the candidates, and the candidates themselves. On the completion of the counting the returning officer seals up in separate packets the accepted and rejected ballot papers. They are all forwarded to the clerk of the crown, in

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whose custody they remain for a year, and are then destroyed. The interval amply suffices for any action in the direction of a recount. This may be undertaken only by order of the House of Commons, of a Superior Court, or of a judge in chambers.

The illiterate voter is carefully looked after. The printed names on the ballot paper conveying no information to his mind, it is obvious he cannot, unassisted, affix his mark against the name of the man of his choice. A form of declaration that he is unable to read is recited to the voter, who makes his mark in token of assent. Thereupon the presiding officer, in presence of the agents, marks the ballot paper in accordance with the voter's wishes, and places it in the box. The same procedure is observed in the case of blind men. If the poll be taken on a Saturday, difficulty arises in the case of Jews, who, on their Sabbath, are forbidden to transact business requiring their signature. Short of that, they may vote, and freely do; the presiding officer writing their names, under their instructions, as if they were physically blind, or unable to read.

Particulars of the illiterate voter, as illustrating the operation of the Education Act, are among the most interesting in the statistics of a general election. In 1892, of the 4,587,036 voters who polled, 135,605 were returned as illiterates. Of the three and three-quarter million electors in England and Wales, 46,109 were illiterate; in Scotland, there were 4,577 out of 466,040; whilst in Ireland, out of a total of 395,024 voting, not less than 84,919 were returned as illiterate. At the general election taken three years later, of 3,858,923 votes polled, 72,940 persons voted as illiterates. This is a drop within three years of nearly one-half. In Ireland, the fall was more than a half, the number of illiterates being 40,357 It is true that the total poll was less in 1895, the Home Rule question not being to the fore, than it was in 1892: only 220,506 Irish voters went to the polls. The political circumstances of the day may also, in part, account for the illiterates in England and Wales falling to 28,521, and in Scotland to 4,062. The illiterate voters in Great Britain are doubtless largely recruited from the Irish laborers in the large towns. But there still remains sufficient margin to make the growing influence of free and compulsory education perceptible.

A matter of the utmost importance to a candidate is the selection of an election agent. The Corrupt Practices Act of 1883 is a hard taskmaster. Only a cool-headed, keen-witted man, intimately acquainted with its provisions, can be relied upon safely to steer through

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their labyrinth. In a judgment delivered upon an election petition, Lord Justice Field clearly defined the position of an election agent. The passage will serve to show how distinct he is from the party manager in the United States, or any of his staff. "The object of the Corrupt Practices Act," said the Judge, "is that a person shall be the election agent who shall be effectively responsible for all the acts done in procuring the election. No contract is to be made by anybody but him. He is the person to make the contracts, because he is a known and responsible man, who can be dealt with afterwards, and who can be looked to afterwards for an explanation of his conduct in the management of the election."

There is something grim in the Judge's satisfied contemplation of a man "who can be dealt with afterwards." A candidate may act as his own election agent. He will find he has a very miserable client. A person found guilty of illegal practice, under the act, is, on summary conviction, liable to a fine not exceeding £100. He is further declared incapable during five years from the date of his conviction of being registered as an elector, or of voting at any election held within the county or borough where the illegal practice was committed. There is no appeal against a summary conviction by an Election Court.

The maximum expenditure permitted at a Parliamentary election is absolutely defined. In a borough where the number of electors on the register does not exceed 2,000, the maximum amount of expenditure, other than personal expenses and sums paid to the returning officer for his charges, is £350. Where the number of electors exceeds 2,000, an additional £30 for every complete 1,000 electors above 2,000 may be disbursed. In a county or division of a county legal expenditure is more lavish. If the number of electors on the register does not exceed 2,000, £650 may be spent, with an additional £60 for every complete 1,000 electors above 2,000. A candidate's personal expenses are limited to £100.

Within twenty-one days after the return to the writ has been made, the returning officer transmits to the election agent of every candidate a detailed account of all the charges claimed by him in respect of the election. This enables the agent to complete his statement of accounts, which is exceedingly minute. It gives particulars of every payment made, accompanied by vouchers in the form of bills and receipts. On the other side is a statement of all money securities and equivalent of money received by the agent from the can-

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didate, or any other person, for expenses incurred in the conduct and management of the election. Ten days after receiving these accounts the returning officer publishes a summary in two newspapers circulating in the county or borough where the election was held. The account and vouchers are kept for two years open to inspection by any who desire to examine them. Thus does the law jealously guard purity of Parliamentary elections.

Looking up the detailed return of costs of the last two general elections, I find that the election of 1892 cost on the average per vote polled 4s. 1d. The election of 1895 was got through at the average cost per vote of 3s. 8¾d. In 1892 there were 1,307 candidates for the 670 seats composing the House of Commons. The maximum expenditure allowed by the Corrupt Practices Act was £1,129,430. The actual expenditure was £958,532 0s. 1½d. Mr. Mantalini would have been scornful of "the demnition coppers" in a bill of a trifle under a million sterling. They undesignedly testify to the minuteness of the account rendered. In 1895 there were 1,181 candidates. The maximum scale allowed by the statute was £1,025,207. The actual disbursement was £773,333 0s. 3d.

The cheapest part of the United Kingdom for a Parliamentary candidate to present himself is Ireland. The dearest is Scotland. In 1892 Irish votes cost on the average 2s. 8¾d. In 1895 they were not to be had under 3s. 1½d. The movement was slightly in the opposite direction in Scotland, where, in 1895, votes were obtained at an expenditure of 4s. 7¾d., having cost 4s. 8d. at the previous general election. In England and Wales, votes which in 1895 had averaged 3s. 10d. apiece in 1892 cost up to 4s. 2d. It will be understood that the whole of these charges fall upon the candidates. At a general election, the only cost borne by the State is the conveyance, postage free, of the writs issued by the clerks of the Crown, directing elections to the new Parliament.

HENRY W. LUCY.

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A PLEA FOR THE ANNEXATION OF CUBA.

"If they wish the Spanish flag to cease to wave over Cuba, they will have to realize it through a glorious Trafalgar at the gates of Havana."

So spoke Señor Don Antonio Canovas del Castillo, Prime Minister of the Spanish monarchy, in the beginning of the year 1896. These words have been since contradicted in the waters of Santiago de Cuba. The Trafalgar, indeed, has been realized, but with no more glory for Spain than to suffer, without retaliating, the strokes of an adversary superior in force and dexterity.

Cuba has broken the bonds which bound her to Spain; and as the social functions cannot be suspended it is urgently necessary to organize them. Those who united love of country with hate of the tyranny of Spain are about to take definite roads; some esteeming, with honest conscience, that American intervention has irremediably determined new paths for Cuba, and others, equally honest, believing that it is imperative to take up categorically the consequences of the revolutionary programme.

The Cuban revolution began with a negation which embraced many opinions; hence its strength. "Nothing with Spain; nothing with the degenerate nation which knowingly and systematically despoiled and tyrannized us." Such was the cry which was heard from Maisi to San Antonio, culminating in the rebellion in which a few colonists, impelled to desperation by tyranny, were able to resist a display of force never before equalled in any colonial war. This vigorous negation was accompanied by an expressed determination to create in Cuba a republic, "founded on the free exercise of the natural capacities of man."

The country acclaimed and proclaimed the negation; and with it affirmed the declaration of "Cuba Libre" — which was the symbol under which all the elements of Cuban society were united, and which gave to the revolution its moral and material support. If the revolution, fighting single-handed against Spain, could have reached the

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redemption of the whole territory, its triumph would have been complete and beyond all discussion. Victory, absolving it from the rashness of the undertaking, would have crowned its work by imposing upon the vanquished its own terms and its own programme. Such has always been, in humanity, the process of ideas.

But the triumph of the revolution, if so it may be called, is more nominal than real. He must be blind who to-day does not see that all the blood poured out, and all the ruins spread over the soil of Cuba, in our noble struggle to redeem her, were in imminent danger of being converted into a sterile sacrifice. The situation, however, has been saved. A neighboring nation, in whose soil are always found rest for the oppressed and an asylum for the unfortunate, heard our cry, and, at the moment of our wavering, as the sword was about to drop from our hands, made our cause her own, and restored us to the life that is sweet, and to the liberty which men love. Our horrible revolution shook the American conscience, and intervention was determined upon. War was declared, and hostilities began. The American troops disembarked in Cuba, and our exhaustion and weakness could be no longer concealed.

We appeared to the Americans as we ought to have appeared — full of enthusiasm; undimmed in our faith as to the final result; and with an immovable resolution to perish in the contest rather than to recede from our demand. But our numbers were small, and our clothing and provisions. We had no surplus of discipline, and no more military organization than the mere rudiments which accompany a war of guerrillas. On the other hand, Spain, which left us drained and exhausted in her efforts to resist the American invasion, brought from her leanness sufficient force to demonstrate that, left to our own resources, the independence of Cuba could have been no more than a new chimera of patriotism, and our persistence in the conflict a lingering but certain suicide.

The peculiar form in which the revolution has come to receive its material triumph has complicated the solution of the problem. On the side of independence, and as a derivative of it, new principles have been created, resting on great interests which must be heard and discussed; and these interests are the permanent social interests of the Cuban people, which must be preserved at any cost, whatever may be the political destiny of Cuba, if the empire of right is to reign in her. Hence comes the necessity of studying, discussing, and analyzing other solutions than that of independence, to insure the definite and

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stable condition of our country. The three requisite formulæ into which public opinion is crystallized seem to be: First, immediate and absolute independence; second, independence with an American protectorate; and third, annexation to the United States, more or less immediate. Each one of these will be examined.

National independence is a noble, holy, and exalting idea. History teaches us that the peoples who have acquired and known it have not hesitated in the hour of danger, and that a large part of the blood shed in the wars that have wasted humanity has been consecrated in sacrifice to this most sacred principle. But history teaches us also that wheresoever such efforts have been realized, independence has not been a mere abstraction of the mind, a mere desire, but a determined and tangible fact, strengthened by possession, and consecrated by use. These are factors which in time gradually crystallize into that jewelled bond which is known as National Conscience.

But the independence of Cuba has not yet reached the embryonic state, and before crossing these limits American intervention has introduced the hard lot which is reserved for all products of precocity. These unripe fruits lack sufficient personality to devote themselves to any other sentiment than that melancholia which accompanies all disappointed hopes. In the age in which we live we desire something more real, and we fight and die for something more practical than the uncertain longing for the unknown. And the independence of Cuba is the unknown, with all its illusions, and all its terrors.

To constitute a nation the following elements are essential: unity of race, population proportioned to the territory, and a sufficient political education to discharge the functions of government, foreign as well as domestic. Let us examine, with serene impartiality, Cuban society, for the purpose of inquiring if there are to be found in it the three imperative conditions required for the establishment of a national life that shall be stable.

The dispassionate observer who earnestly studies the conditions of Cuba will find in her population three well-defined and entirely distinct products, possessing trifling modifications and partial tints, originating from racial mixture and climatic adaptation. These elements are the white Cuban, the Cuban of more or less confessed African extraction, and the peninsular Spaniard. Through special circumstances these three elements have acquired, and still maintain, a strength so nearly equal that it may be assumed without fear of error that each one of them — in one case, through numbers, in

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another, through adaptation to the climate, and in the other through wealth—possesses an equal share of social power. The white Cuban is the most numerous; the negro is the most apt to prosper under the sky of the torrid zone; and the peninsular Spaniard is the possessor of nearly all the personal, and of a good part of the real, property of the island, and by the ties of family is very intimately connected with the white Cuban population. By another peculiar circumstance these three constituent elements of Cuban society do not live separately, and are not confined to certain provinces, giving the region where they reside a special character, but are found side by side in every province, in every town, and even in every house.

There abound in Cuba homes in which besides the father — a Spanish peninsular, versed in the old traditions of his race, and a faithful believer in the entailed divine right — lives the first-born son, with as much love for Cuba as for Spain, and trusting his destinies to that process of evolution which, in his judgment, presides over and determines all progress; the younger son, a faithful adherent of the revolution, firmly convinced that peoples advance more in one hour of revolution than in an age of pacific propagation; and there is the *penumbra*, dedicated to domestic service—the negro, yesterday a slave, to-day free, with a part which he esteems not insignificant in the revolutionary legend, feeling himself stronger than the white man in this ardent tropical clime, which seems to be formed by nature expressly for his race. The proposition to mould a nation out of elements so heterogeneous and complicated would be an insensate and preposterous idea. And which of the elements composing the integral parts of Cuban society is so strong that under its wing and favor a nation may be crystallized?

Nationality is a politico-social state which determines inexorable duties, as well in an exterior as in an interior sphere. To the first belong international relations, the common defence, commerce, and navigation; and to the second, order, liberty, and assured justice through all and for all.

"We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this constitution for the United States of America."

These are the ends to which a nationality ought to respond. Is Cuba in condition to do it? The revolution has put upon her shoul-

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ders a burden far superior to her strength and to the number of her inhabitants whose life war has spared. Before it, Cuba was depopulated, and is to be still more reduced. No one will charge us with exaggeration if we calculate that, in one form or another, the Cuban population has been reduced to a scanty million of inhabitants. And this number becomes paltry when distributed over a territory of forty-five thousand square miles.

Cuba is a land essentially agricultural. Even in the times of her prosperous production the laborers were few. The war fed mercilessly on the rural population, from which the revolution drew its soldiers, Spain her guerrillas, emigration its refugees, and Weyler the victims of his infamous reconcentration. If Cuba desires to have products to exchange with the stranger for the many necessities of life which she neither harvests nor manufactures, she must, first of all, give attention to the restoration of her rural population, by immigration wisely selected and judiciously stimulated. Where shall she select it? And how shall she stimulate it without first guaranteeing order and liberty to her immigrants? And it is not idle to point out that, without great and powerful incentives, the white race has never looked with favor upon the establishment of homes in tropical zones. The agriculturist is neither improvised nor invented; and the truest and most useful laborers are those whose fathers and grandfathers were laborers before them.

It is true that the best partisans of independence believe in good faith that they are going to establish in Cuba a model republic; but as this promise has no more guarantee than their word, however respectable that may be, it appears to us insufficient to attract the immigration of the laborers that Cuba needs.

Another drawback to independence, and certainly not the least important, is the notorious deficiency of our training in all those political functions which are necessary in the development of a republican form of government. The Spanish colonies of America, so many of them as were made independent in the first third of this century, like Cuba and Puerto Rico, had not been educated by Spain for liberty and self-government, but had been trained for domination and servitude. Spain never gave to the Cubans any serious part in the decision of the political problems of their country. Independence will put in our hands — utterly inexpert — an organization most delicate and complicated, such as the democratic Republic must be; and it is not rash to predict that before acquiring the experience necessary

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for its management we shall have broken the organism in pieces, and crippled ourselves with the fragments.

Of peoples who have been launched on the tempests of independent life without the necessary practical preparation, the map of America offers us an abundance of examples from which we may receive most profitable instruction — *i. e.*, if we examine them with our backs turned toward that sickly sentimentalism which, by its exaggeration, has become the sore spot of the Latin race. I refer to the tendency to summon sentiment as the only or principal criterion for the solving of those questions which ought to be solved by reason or calculation. Excepting Chile, where circumstances succeeded in cementing a republic of the Venetian pattern, all the peoples of the Latin race, scattered over the American continent, have exhibited, from the day of their emancipation, the most notorious political incapacity.

In a single half century, Mexico has had eight constitutional charters, twenty revolutions, and fifty *pronunciamentos*. She has had a succession of little tyrants, some entitled Emperor and others called President — who have arrogated supreme authority through the medium of force, each in his turn to be overthrown by force. And if to-day the Mexicans appear to enjoy a measure of rest and peace, it is by purchase at the price of a dictatorship more or less disguised — a transaction always resorted to by societies when the fundamental principles of their existence are menaced. The five republics of Central America tremble less through the seismic convulsions of their numerous volcanoes than from the quaking of their continuous mutinies and revolts, which, like the fevers of their marshes and morasses, seem to have taken the clinical form of periodicity.

Colombia has had different changes of constitutions and even of name, but without abandoning those proceedings of force and violence which seem to form the political dogma of our race in America. Tyrannies succeed tyrannies. The instrument is changed, but not the system. In Venezuela, the *pronunciamento*, the only method of maintaining power, has become a veritable institution of state; and the republic is a domestic animal publicly sacrificed for the ambition and benefit of the conquering leader. Until very recently Ecuador has been a fragment of the Europe of the Middle Ages, encrusted between the Pacific and the heights of the Andes, an immense monastery with the honors of a nation. In the last twenty years Peru has suffered a foreign war which has cut off her two richest provinces, and more than ten civil wars, which have impoverished and ruined her to

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such a degree that the evidences of her national debt have no more value than the paper on which they are printed. Equally unfortunate conditions exist in the other Latin-American Republics.

Brazil has arrived at the life of nationality through the medium of evolution, and, like Chile, enjoys stability, owing to institutions solidly conserved. When these institutions are disturbed, anarchy is extended over the land, and civil wars follow each other.

But none can present a better comparison with Cuba than those two *opera-bouffe* nationalities — the so-called Republics of Haiti and Santo Domingo — which, situated like Cuba, in the Sea of the Antilles, are in the same torrid zone, and, like Cuba, are found inhabited by negroes and whites of Latin origin.

In Haiti, the negro race, somewhat more numerous, has absorbed the white race, in spite of these being richer and more cultivated, to such an extent, that the few whites who to-day are seen in Haiti are nearly all foreigners. There, the free arbiter of his own destiny, and in complete liberty to follow his own pleasures and inclinations, the Haitien negro has retrograded to his good times on the coasts of Oro and Guinea to such an extent that to-day he is neither more nor less than a veritable Dahomeyite of Africa, planted in the bosom of America through the blindness of France.

Still stronger are the points of similarity between Santo Domingo and Cuba. The principal one of them is the very similar distribution of the population of the two countries in respect of color. Notwithstanding this, the white race, although somewhat more numerous and cultivated than the negro, has constantly seen elevated to the chief office of state — nearly always, of course, by violence — numerous representatives of the latter race. The equilibrium that the white race has been able to maintain by its numbers, and the negro by the almost constant administration of the chief magistracy of state, has prevented the absorption of the one by the other; but it possesses an element of danger. This danger some Dominicans desired to avert by annexation to the United States. This desire, however, was not realized, and annexation to Spain became the programme, resulting in a most furious war, without removing the menace from the future of Santo Domingo.

In all that makes for the political development of a country, Santo Domingo is in no sense an exception to the hereditary infirmity which overshadows the people distributed by Spain in the Americas. The country is not consulted by its governors; and the supreme power is

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obtained by a bullet in the public plaza, or by the same methods as those employed by the highwayman in securing the purse of a traveller at the cross roads. Justice is a vain word, written in the laws for the comfort of the credulous.

This glance at the history of the Latin countries of America is painful in the extreme. The unsupportable tyranny of Spain compelled them to emancipate themselves when too young and without education in the practical life of representative and democratic government. From this have sprung their misfortunes.

Now what do the partisans of immediate Cuban independence answer when this picture of the misgoverned Latin-American republics is put before them? They artlessly respond that they, the Cubans, who are resolved to organize the Republic of Cuba, are in every respect more advanced than the Spanish colonists of the first third of this century. We do not know what the descendants of those colonists might say to such a statement; but we do not believe that they will readily admit that Bolivar, Sucre, San Martin, O'Higgins, Guerrero, or Morelos are less great than the modest heroes of our Cuban revolution. Cubans are neither better nor worse than the other Spanish-American peoples. They are of the same nature and substance, a product of Spanish blood, in greater or less degree of purity; and unless Nature has changed her laws, introducing an exception for the especial benefit of the Cubans, these sons of Spaniards must resemble their fathers as much in the moral as in the physical life, without other limitations than those inherent in the climate and in education. However painful this confession may be, it is impossible to refute it. It is not strange that Cubans, with the proverbial pride of the Spanish race, should deem themselves qualified for independence; but it is pertinent to reflect that, after our long struggle, there remains scarcely enough material for the organization of a new republic.

We have seen the lamentable results which lack of practice produced in South America during the colonial period. Let us now direct our gaze toward the north of this continent, that we may appreciate the benefits of arriving at national estate with a political education more or less developed, as well in the theory as in the practice of public life. Exactly the reverse of the Spanish settlers is the history of the English in North America. At the beginning they adopted the character of new societies, the English citizen concurring. In their hearts there was an intense love of liberty; in their brains the clearest political conception ever possessed by any people; and in their hands the Augs-

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burg Confession which consecrated freedom of conscience. There was also Magna Charta, that ancient fountain of political rights which has been the foundation of the social, political, and economical well-being of the Anglo-Saxon race.

From the day of the foundation of the English colonies of North America, they evinced all the essential characteristics of a well defined political organization. A citizen of Lancashire was not more free than the most modest colonist of New Hampshire or Connecticut. The colony voted its taxes, and provided for public security with its provincial militia, from whose files went out, later, the majority of those chiefs and soldiers who, at the side of Washington, conquered at Yorktown. Through the medium of its legislative councils, freely elected, it satisfied all the public and private necessities of those embryonic societies, so that when the conflict surged between the mother country and the colonies there was little or nothing to be changed in preparation for the necessities of the war, and later for the exigencies of peace and nationality. The united colonies made their transit from a colonial to a national life, like the peaceful revolution of the stars, or the invisible evolutions of human life. In the federal compact each colony reserved unalterably its individuality in regard to all the purposes of local life, and only surrendered to the central power — and this in a manner limited by law — those privileges necessary to the formation and maintenance of national life. The fruitful results obtained from circumstances so fortunate are to-day the wonder and astonishment of the world.

And if from the United States we pass to Canada, we shall find that similar beginnings have produced identical results. Canada, through her prime minister, Mr. Laurier, in the midst of representatives of all the people who constitute the British Empire assembled to solemnize the Jubilee of Queen Victoria, declared her right to be considered and reckoned with as a nation; and this vigorous affirmation, being more than simply assented to, was received with applause. Certainly no one to-day doubts that Canada could pass into national life without the least internal perturbation, and with complete mechanical equipment.

However great our vanity, it is difficult to suppose that the Cubans, in endeavoring to develop nationality, and to install a republic, will realize the miracles wrought by the Anglo-Saxon race in America, which, in fact, are no more than the result of the clear ideas brought by the Anglo-Saxon immigrant to the banks of the

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Hudson from his old homestead. What the old communities of England, Holland, and Switzerland learned in ten centuries of doleful experience the Cubans are not going to secure in twenty-four hours. War, which, up to the present time, has been the fortune of Cuba more or less, is peculiarly the function of youth. To administer and to govern is the privilege of age, and is so difficult that often age is no guarantee of success. Do Cubans confide in a ray of Divine light which shall illumine the brain of their statesmen? It would be a vain expectation. Miracles are not of our time, and a miracle it would be, and not a small one, if one generation should complete with advantage the monumental work which enters into the problem of Cuban independence, and which merits the efforts of at least two and possibly three generations.

And if independence in the social order threatens us with chaos, and in the political order with anarchy or dictatorship, in the economic order it brings for this poor land of Cuba the sterility of an African desert. Puerto Rico belongs to the United States, and it is more than probable that the Philippine Islands will be favored with a similar close relationship. Both countries are situated, like Cuba, in tropical climates, and, with a population much more dense than Cuba, produce to a considerable extent tobacco, sugar, and coffee — the only crops by which our agriculture lives. It may be considered as certain that American industrial energy will soon extend itself through these territories, and in a little time will build up in all of them a production so immense as to satisfy the necessities of the only market whose gates, at the beginning of the revolution, were not closed for Cuba. This production, even before its development, will require from its government a protective duty, which has never been refused to the industries of the country. What shall we do, then, with our sugar, and a large part of our tobacco? Will it be possible to adjust treaties which will leave a margin wide enough for competition? Will the practical legislators of Washington be so foolish as to prejudice the industries of their new possessions for the benefit of a foreign country?

It does not appear difficult to answer these questions, for they belong to a class of interrogations which are answered before they are made. Puerto Rico produces to-day very nearly 100,000 tons of sugar, and the Philippines not far from 300,000. Both countries, even when they were colonies of Spain, were our competitors in the American market. It is safe to predict that when the American flag

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floats over them, and when Yankee capital comes to give active increase to their industries, we shall meet in them true enemies, who will oppose tenaciously and justly the same grant of protection to Cuba which by right belongs to the Philippines and to Puerto Rico. Then all the sugar which we can produce will not suffice to sweeten the bitterness of ruin, nor with all our tobacco reduced to smoke shall we dissipate the sadness of having completed, through our culpable want of foresight, the misery of one of the most fertile isles that nature has created.

But, besides perniciously influencing the economical order, the annexation of Puerto Rico will exercise over the political destinies of Cuba a constant influence. The United States will not only bring to Puerto Rico her spirit of enterprise and her capital, which will justify the name given to the island by the Spanish conquerors, but, with her admirable understanding of the problems of government, she will erect political institutions capable of securing the happiness of the people. Puerto Rico will come to be a permanent object lesson, and as such will render ephemeral the life of the republic. At the meeting of the first obstacles, Cuba will be unable to maintain an independence which will have done no more than to substitute domestic turmoil for a foreign tyranny.

Some Cubans, convinced of the truth of the foregoing, and unwilling to assume the responsibility of trying to constitute an independent government in a country already in the pangs of dissolution, have given consideration to the idea of a Protectorate which, conceding Cuban independence, might guarantee law and order. It is understood that the United States will be asked to assume this Protectorate. We believe that those who contemplate this are actuated by the noble purpose of confederating all Cubans in the work of erecting the new republic, as well those who coöperated in the revolution as those who maintained neutrality.

But the laudableness of the purpose does not insure the realization of the work. Protectorates, hitherto, have been assumed for reasons very different than the mere preservation of domestic and public order. This species of guardianship by nations great and strong over the small and feeble has a higher end than that of maintaining interior tranquillity. Its purpose is the defence of the weaker state against foreign aggression; and when it is assumed it is because that state is menaced by powerful enemies. Such is the Protectorate which, by virtue of the Conference of Berlin, in 1889, England, Germany, and

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the United States exercised over the Kingdom of Samoa; such is that which England has exercised over the Republic of South Africa, through the Convention of 1884; and such also is that which England exercises over Egypt, a country yet tributary to the Ottoman Porte, which is guarded for ends purely financial.

In none of these Protectorates does the protecting nation have the least say in the maintenance of the interior public order of the protected. And it could not be otherwise. The first duty of a nation is to afford to its citizens the guaranty of property and person; and only when it has reached the power to give this guaranty, not as a promise, but as a reality, can it be said that a nation has arrived at its majority. National independence and a Protectorate by foreign bayonets to preserve social order are terms incompatible in the science of politics.

The perils of an independent Cuba are certainly not those from without. The sea which bathes her entire border, her tropical climate, so unfavorable to armies from the temperate zones, and, above all, the Monroe Doctrine, which disarmed the hand of the Holy Alliance, expelled from Mexico the soldiers of Napoleon III, and recently foiled England in her aggressive policy against Venezuela, furnish safeguards for Cuban independence.

But the projectors of the Protectorate do not fear exterior dangers. What they fear, and with them many Cubans of experience, are those daily revolts and those monthly *pronunciamentos* that have characterized the early history of all the Latin-American republics, and which in many of them have become permanent conditions. And the Protectorate, as understood and practised by the most powerful nations on earth, will not remedy this. The only help lies in annexation to the United States — a solution which, if accepted by a majority of the Cubans, will be more dignified than a fictitious and nominal independence. In the history of the relations of Spain with Cuba, there are numerous examples of that pharisaic habit which consists in changing the names of things without any change in the substance. Cuba and Puerto Rico, for instance, which were no more than tyrannized colonies, were rebaptized with the name of Ultramarine Provinces. Let us not imitate this conduct of our ancient masters. If independence is to be, let it be in the only form rationally possible. Let us ask a place in the American home.

It may happen that some are holding back who are partisans of annexation, but who nevertheless advocate the Protectorate, esteem-

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ing it a form of transition which prepares the way for ultimate annexation. But those who so think are profoundly mistaken, and by attempting a seemingly short route, will be in danger of arriving very late, or of not arriving at all, at the end of their journey. Collective bodies have their instincts of preservation the same as individuals, and, like them, love life and its continuance. The perspective of new tumults, with their accustomed retinue of horrors, is the only allurement that a Protectorate presents to Cuba.

The very sagacious methods employed by the United States in moulding the States and Territories are not yet dead or exhausted; and if such are not found suitable to the necessities of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines, the political acumen of the legislators at Washington will surely discover a mode of transition which, saving all that which merits salvation, will give satisfaction to all interests, whatsoever may be their origin or value.

Before the movement of Baire, in 1895, there was not one single Cuban meriting the name who would not gladly have accepted autonomy moulded after the Canadian pattern. And if we would give so much credit to Spain, to whom we owed so much injustice, misgovernment, and exploitation, does it seem natural that we should deny it to the United States, which can justify the pledge of liberty?

A Cuban.

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THE NEGRO PROBLEM IN THE SOUTH.

SINCE the movement to deprive the ignorant negro voter of any share in the government of the Southern States first began, I have read a number of articles prepared by distinguished men of the North defending the cause of the negro in the exercise of the privileges now enjoyed by him at the ballot box.

I am not disposed to criticise the writers for the view of the question taken by them, for I know that they do not understand the conditions existing in the South, and that they draw their conclusions from the experience they have had with the negroes of the North, most of whom have acquired some education. Moreover, the latter do not menace good government in the North, because their numbers are so small in comparison to the white population that, as a race, they rarely determine governmental issues in the Northern States. I doubt if the advocates of unlimited negro suffrage could contemplate with equanimity the political control of such States as Massachusetts, New York, and Ohio, by negro governors or negro legislatures.

When the Northern-born man is compelled to face the problem under similar surroundings, he looks upon this question from the same standpoint as his Southern neighbor. There are thousands of Northern men who have located in the South since the Civil War, who have invested their money there, who have become important factors in its development, who left their homes staunch Republicans and still believe in the principles of that party, but who in the South vote the Democratic ticket, and advocate the election of the nominees of that party. Why do they do so? There can be but one answer. They desire good government and fear negro domination. They know that the negroes once held the reins of power in the South, and that the race then demonstrated its utter inability to exercise the power of government.

The result of negro enfranchisement has been to force the white people of the South to unite in one great white party, regardless of their past or present beliefs in other governmental questions. When

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the Democratic party has chosen its candidates and announced its platform, they must fight under its banner and support its cause, to protect themselves from anarchy and ruin. Men cannot be free under such conditions. The white voters of the South desire freedom of thought and action as much as do their brethren of the North. They have been enslaved in their political rights since the adoption of the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and the movement now taking place in the South is an effort on the part of the white people to enfranchise themselves.

Those who advocate negro suffrage in the South contend that the negro must retain the use of the ballot in order to protect himself from oppression. If the advocates of this theory lived in the South, they would at once recognize the fallacy of their argument; for, as a rule, the ballot at present is no protection to the negro race. It is true that the negroes have not been disfranchised by law, but are allowed to go to the polls and cast their votes; yet, for twenty years, to all intents and purposes, they have been disfranchised as effectually as if by legal enactment. The most enlightened and prosperous negro has no more voice in the government of the State than the most ignorant member of the race. It is not the desire of the Southern white man to injure or degrade the black man, but existing conditions compel him to protect himself. The white man, be he of Northern or Southern extraction, is and ever will be unwilling to submit to the domination of an inferior race. As I have stated, the white voters are united for the preservation of good government, and they will allow no other question to dominate this one.

Those who do not understand the conditions in the South may ask how it is that the negro still retains the privilege of voting, and yet has no voice in the government of the State. The answer is not a difficult one. The candidates for office are selected and the questions of state are decided in a white primary, in which the negro is not allowed to participate. The united white vote being in the ascendancy, when a decision is reached it is ratified at the polls. As a rule, the negro's vote is not solicited in its ratification; and, if it is, it is not solicited by an appeal to his reason.

It must not be understood that this condition was inaugurated without an effort to secure the support of the negro in the cause of good government. An earnest effort in this direction was made immediately after his enfranchisement. Southern men of enlightenment and great ability affiliated with the Republican party of the

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South in an effort to direct the new-made citizen to a use of the power placed in his hands for the good of the state and its people, but only to meet with failure after failure. He followed corrupt and degrading influences in preference to those that appeal to the higher sensibilities of men; and the same conditions exist to-day, as has been demonstrated in those States where in recent years a temporary division of the white people has enabled the negro again to grasp the reins of power. He will not listen even to the appeals of the enlightened men of his race.

It is contended by some that the disfranchisement of the negro will stop the development of the race. I do not believe that he will be affected in his moral, industrial, or educational development by being disfranchised by law; for, as stated above, he has been practically disfranchised for twenty years in most parts of the South. The real question involved is not one of the disfranchisement of the negro, but of the enfranchisement of the white man. I believe that the only development that can come to the negro race must come through the instrumentality of the white race, and that the negro through his own unaided efforts is incapable of rising above his present condition. The black race has come in contact with every civilization that the world has ever known; but, as a race, it has shown no development from its contact with them. The individual may have risen in the scale of life, but as soon as the sustaining influence of the higher civilization has been removed the race has retrograded. The masses of the negro race cannot, and will not, receive the full benefit of their contact with our civilization so long as political hostility keeps up a continued conflict between the two races; and the greatest enemy that the negro has is that man who wittingly or unwittingly prejudices the negro against the Southern white man, on whose shoulders in the end must rest the problem of solving the destiny of the two races.

The contention that the negro in the Southern States must retain the privilege of the ballot in order that he may work out his own development is not justified by existing conditions. The negro, to progress, must be able to work, acquire property, and develop along industrial lines. In the South, as I have said, he has been practically disfranchised for many years. In the North he has the same privilege at the ballot box as the white man. In the South all fields of honest employment have at all times been open to him, and he has been protected in his right to work and earn an honest living. His life and property are always secure, and he receives the full protection

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of the law so long as he keeps within the mandates of the law of his State, except in instances where political conflicts arise. In the North, as a rule, he is barred from most of the trades, and must content himself to serve as a day laborer, unless he can enter one of the professions. In some of the Northern States, when he has come in industrial conflict with the white men of those States, he has not received the protection of the law; but, on the contrary, the power of the State has been turned against him in his endeavor to earn a living.

In most of the States it has not been thought necessary to give the female citizens the right of the ballot, in order to protect their property, or to advance their industrial or intellectual development. Most of the States have refused full citizenship to the Indian and the Chinese, and their right to exercise such refusal remains unquestioned. The free government which we enjoy in this country and the personal rights of the citizen have been acquired and attained by the white race after hundreds of years of development, struggle, and sacrifice. They have worked out their own destiny, and through the blood of their fathers have acquired vested rights in our free institutions, and the privilege of controlling them.

But this is not true of the negro, the Indian, or the Chinese. Our freedom and our political institutions were not created either by their intellectual development or the self-sacrifices of their race. It may be said that we have no right to deny the privileges of a free government that we have won for ourselves to the inferior races with whom we come in contact. This may be true when it does not jeopardize our own free institutions; but when it does, our first duty is to ourselves and to the free government created for us by the wisdom and courage of our ancestors. Should the premature admission of an alien race to the privileges of full citizenship endanger those institutions, we not only have the right, but it is our duty, to take away those privileges. There can be no doubt that the granting of the franchise to the negro before he could understand it or was prepared to use it was a great mistake, and has not operated for his good.

Abraham Lincoln, perhaps the wisest statesman in the galaxy of great men who have shaped the destinies of the Republican party, recognized the danger of forcing a conflict between the two races. In a speech delivered at Charleston, Illinois, on September 18, 1858, he said:

"I will say that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races;

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that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of making voters or jurors of negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people; and I will say, in addition to this, that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. And, inasmuch as they cannot so live, while they do remain together, there must be the position of superior and inferior; and I, as much as any other man, am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race."

I repeat that there is no intention on the part of the white people of the South to oppress or degrade the negro. Their desire is now, and always has been, to aid him in his industrial and intellectual development. But they recognize that they must continue to control the government of the Southern States, and that it is not only best for them, but for the negroes themselves, to remove the existing political conflict by the disfranchisement of the ignorant negro vote.

OSCAR W. UNDERWOOD.

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THE COAL SUPREMACY OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE most striking facts of the world commerce of to-day are, perhaps, the coal famine in Europe and the export trade of the United States. These two facts are closely related. They stand in the relation of cause and effect. The foundation of our cheap production and our large exports is the abundance and the cheapness of our coal. The slow growth of the export trade of our rivals is very largely to be explained by the high cost of their fuel. Other important advantages we do indeed possess, in our larger use of machinery, more efficient labor, and cheap raw materials; but the most important of all our points of commercial superiority, the consideration which assures us a permanent and commanding advantage in foreign trade, is the superabundance of our coal.

The supreme importance of coal to machine production was beautifully expressed by Jevons in the opening sentences of his "Coal Question," the book which foretold, more than thirty years since, the passing of commercial supremacy from Great Britain to the United States:

> "Day by day it becomes more obvious that the coal we happily possess in excellent quality and abundance is the mainspring of modern material civilization. As fuel, or the source of fire, it is the source at once of mechanical motion and of chemical change. Accordingly, it is the chief agent in almost every improvement or discovery in the arts which the present age brings forth. . . . And as the source especially of steam and iron, coal is all-powerful. This age has been called the Iron Age, and it is true that iron is the material of most great novelties. By its strength, endurance, and wide range of qualities, it is fitted to be the fulcrum and lever of great works, while steam is the motive power. But coal alone can command in sufficient abundance either the iron or the steam, and coal, therefore, commands this age—the Age of Coal. Coal, in truth, stands not only beside, but entirely above all other commodities. It is the material energy of the country—the universal aid—the factor in everything we do. With coal, almost any feat is possible or easy; without it, we are thrown back into the laborious poverty of early times."

Coal is indeed the basis of machine production, and machine production is almost universal. Cheap coal means cheap iron and steel, and so means cheap machinery and construction. Cheap coal means

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cheap power to drive the engine and the loom. Cheap coal means low freight rates, which in their turn lower the cost of every article of commerce. Cheap production, the outcome of these advantages, means large exports, a vast and increasing foreign trade. The nation which has the most abundant fuel and the cheapest power will be the commercial monarch of the future, reigning without a rival. That nation is the United States.

The United States has the most abundant, the easiest mined, and the cheapest coal of any nation. The proof of this statement is found in the greater area of her coal lands, the size and accessibility of her coal deposits, and the present price of her coal. The area of the coal lands of Western Europe is less than 10,000 square miles, and practically all this area has been opened to mining. The available coal area of the United States at the present time is 50,000 square miles. Moreover, the bulk of American coal is now produced from six States, Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia, Illinois, Alabama and Iowa, and the coal-bearing lands which they contain by no means represent our total resources. Coal is found in twenty counties in Virginia. Kentucky contains two large coal fields, the Western being 4,500 square miles in area. The Missouri coal fields embrace 25,000 square miles, and the coal is generally of good quality. Northern Arkansas contains a good-sized coal field, and Texas has a coal-bearing area of 30,000 square miles. The entire Rocky Mountain region abounds in coal; Wyoming having 20,000 square miles of coal lands, Colorado 18,000 square miles, and Montana 60,000 square miles, while large deposits are found in other States and Territories. Abundance of coal is found in Washington.

While drawing upon only a part of our coal-bearing area, we have distanced our competitors in the rapid increase of our output. This fact is shown by the following table, which gives the figures of coal production for the principal manufacturing nations from 1870 to 1898, in metric tons:

YEAR.	UNITED KINGDOM.	GERMANY.	FRANCE.	BELGIUM.	UNITED STATES.
1870	112,200,000	34,800,000	13,300,000	13,600,000	29,900,000
1875	135,400,000	48,500,000	16,900,000	15,000,000	48,200,000
1880	149,300,000	59,100,000	19,300,000	16,800,000	66,800,000
1885	161,800,000	73,600,000	19,500,000	17,400,000	102,100,000
1890	184,500,000	82,200,000	26,000,000	20,300,000	141,600,000
1895	194,300,000	79,100,000	28,200,000	20,400,000	187,000,000
1898	205,200,000	96,200,000	30,300,000	21,400,000	218,000,000

The production of Great Britain from 1870 to 1898 increased 83

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per cent, of Germany 176 per cent, of France 128 per cent, of Belgium 57 per cent, and of the United States 629 per cent. In other words, the United States, while drawing upon only a portion of her available deposits, increased her output during twenty-eight years six times as rapidly as the average of her four competitors, who have taxed their entire resources to supply their needs. This rapid increase of American coal production over the production of Europe is due primarily to the greater abundance of our coal deposits, and secondarily to the greater thickness of the veins in our country.

American coal is so abundant that the mines are as yet shallow and easily worked. European mines, on the other hand, are approaching the limit of profitable working. This raises the question of the high cost of deep mining. The availability of coal is closely related to the depth at which it is mined. When the shafts go below the water line, and especially as they descend to the lower levels, pumping becomes necessary. The expense of raising the coal increases with the depth of the shaft. Hoisting apparatus for men and materials must be erected; and, as the shaft goes deeper, the expense of hoisting is increased, and the amount of coal raised in a given time, by a given amount of power, is diminished. At greater depths, the rocks become harder and the veins more irregular, and more timber must be put in to sustain the greater pressure.

Again, as the shaft descends, the heat rapidly increases. At a depth of 4,000 feet the temperature may reach 106° F. The heat lowers the efficiency of the miner, who cannot do sustained and vigorous labor under these circumstances. The labor cost of deep mining is increased by this fact. The amount of gas and the danger of explosion also increase at lower depths. Powerful blowing engines are required to secure ventilation; and, on the lower levels, perfect ventilation and safety cannot be secured. The expense of supervision and management and the amount of subsidiary labor required to assist the miners are increased as the mine is deepened. In a word, every item in the cost of coal production is increased by the necessity for deep mining, and on this account resort will not be had to the lower veins until the surface deposits have been exhausted.

As to the depth of the coal mines of Europe, the "Colliery Engineer," in September, 1892, remarked on the situation as follows:

"The upper seams of coal on the Continent of Europe are being gradually worked out, and it is found necessary already in many quarters to work at greater depths. In the Mons district in Belgium some shafts have lately been

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sunk to the depth of 3,775 feet. Though the coal is excellent, the hindrances to mining are tremendous. There are many formidable blows of gas and of water at 122° F. Some very powerful pumps are being put down in order to keep the workings clear of water. It has also been found necessary to replace the ordinary wooden timbering with steel props."

Conditions such as those here indicated are being experienced in France, Germany, and Great Britain. The situation of the European coal miner may be seen from the following table of depths:

LOCATION.	NAME OF MINE.	DEPTH IN FEET.	DATE.
Great Britain	Pendleton Colliery	3,474	1897
	Dolcoath Mine	2,400	1897
	Kentish Mines (just opened)	1,140	1875-1892
	Four foot seam, Cheshire	1,629	1894
	Harris Navigation Colliery	2,100	1888
	Ashton Moss Colliery	2,880	1891
France	Gagmeres	2,640	1892
	Société Cockerill	1,730	1891
Germany	Rheinelbe, Westphalia (1)	1,181	1894
	(2)	3,300	1898
	(3)	2,600	
	Oelsnitz, Saxony (1)	3,100	1888
	(2)	2,980	
Belgium	Henriette Shaft	3,772	1898
	Charlerroi	2,640	1896
	St. Gilly	3,280	

These figures represent the extreme depths. It must not be inferred that all European mines are worked under similar conditions. For example, in 1891 it was estimated that the average depth of mines in Yorkshire, Derbyshire, and Nottinghamshire was 450 feet, and in Cheshire, 1,200 feet — figures much lower than the maximum depth of older mines. But the existence of more accessible deposits does not alter the fact that it is the cost at the deepest mines which determines the cost of the coal. The price of coal in Great Britain and on the Continent must be sufficient to warrant the operation of the deepest mines, else they would be abandoned. The fact that such deep mines — and they are numerous — are kept in operation shows that the price of coal is sufficient to pay the cost of production.

In the United States it is entirely different, for American coal mines, generally speaking, have no depth at all. This statement, seemingly so paradoxical, is yet capable of exact statistical proof. The depth of a coal mine is, properly speaking, the distance from the water-line to the bottom of the shaft. Below the water-line the real difficulties of deep mining begin. Above that point there is ordinarily little expense for pumping or hoisting, and the expense of ventilation is comparatively small. It is fair to say, therefore, that mines

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whose workings do not fall below the water-line cannot be called deep mines. Most of the coal mines of the United States do not fall below the water line. This conclusion is based upon unpublished reports made to the Columbian Exposition and now kept in the Field Columbian Museum in Chicago. The reports include two-thirds of the entire number of mines. I shall present the more important facts contained in them. Conditions have not so greatly changed in eight years as to make the figures here given inapplicable to the situation prevailing to-day.

From Pennsylvania, which produces one-third of the coal supply of the United States, seventy-one mines made reports. These may be divided into three classes: (1) mines worked by shafts — perpendicular excavations extending straight down into the earth; (2) mines worked by shafts and slopes, that is to say, inclined tunnels; and (3) mines worked by slopes and drifts, *i. e.*, tunnels running horizontally or inclining upward. Mines in the first and second classes fall below the water-line. Mines in the third class lie above it. Out of the entire number of mines reporting, only six were worked by shaft alone, and only thirteen by a combination of shaft, slope, and drift, or slope and drift. Fifty-two out of seventy were worked by drifts, in some cases so inclined as to be self-draining, and as to permit of loaded cars running out of their own weight. The proof is conclusive that the bulk of Pennsylvania coal is extracted from deposits lying above the water-line; only two-sevenths of the coal of this State was taken from deep mines.

Contrast this condition with that shown by the mining depths of Europe, and the advantage of the United States becomes conspicuous. Our advantage can also be shown from the depths of those mines which fall below the water-line. Out of the nineteen Pennsylvania mines thus circumstanced the average depth was only 437⅓ feet. Other States show the same thing. Thus, in Alabama, out of sixteen mines reporting, six extended below the water line, their average depth being 168 feet. In West Virginia four mines out of twenty-nine reached the water line. In the flat country of the Mississippi Valley the proportion of deep mines is higher, but their depth is not great. For example, Illinois reported only three mines over 600 feet in depth, and only eight out of the forty mines that reported averaged over 400 feet in depth.

In the United States the abundance of the deposits makes deep mining unnecessary. When a shaft has been sunk a few hundred

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feet, it is cheaper to sink a new shaft elsewhere than to push on to greater depths. Only in cases of exceptional richness, such as the thirty feet of the mammoth vein of Pennsylvania, is deep mining followed; and in such cases the peculiar advantages of the deposit are more than sufficient to offset the increased cost of the deep mining. The superior advantages of coal production in the United States as compared with European conditions could not be better illustrated. We mine on the surface; they go down into the depths. Our coal can be pulled out on a level track. Abroad, it is sometimes half an hour in reaching the top of the shaft. We have little water or fire-damp, and small expenses for timbering and ventilating. The foreign miner must fight water and gas, great heat, and constant caving. Our coal mines are mere quarries. The coal mines of Europe are veritable mines.

Another important consideration in estimating the relative value of coal deposits is the thickness of seams. At a thickness of five feet the efficiency of coal cutting machines is marked, and where these can be advantageously used, a maximum saving of fifty per cent in the primary cost of working can be made. In narrow seams, coal-cutting machines cannot be used, and coal must be blasted or more often picked out by hand, the miner being sometimes obliged to use his pick while lying on his side. Again, the expense of cutting galleries, in proportion to the value of the coal extracted from the gallery, varies inversely with the thickness of the seam. In thin seams the amount of rock which must be removed to get at the coal is greater than in thick seams where the spaces from which the coal has been taken furnish most of the communications. In thick seams, moreover, the coal can often be broken down directly into the cars without blasting or handling. This, the cheapest method of mining, is not possible in narrow seams. For these reasons the cost of coal mining decreases with the increase in the thickness of seams. It has been estimated that the cost of hand-working in a seam twenty-eight inches thick varied from eighty-one cents to one dollar, while in a thirty-six inch seam it was only thirty-seven cents to forty-one cents. The disadvantage of working narrow seams is much increased when machines are used. Thicker coal seams, then, other things being equal, mean lower cost of coal mining, and the coal seams of the United States are as a rule much thicker than those hitherto found in Europe.

The thickness of English coal is shown by the following table:

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DISTRICT.	AVERAGE THICKNESS. FEET.	INCHES.	
North of England	3	6	
Scottish Coal Seams	3	6	
North Staffordshire	3	6	
Manchester	4	6	
South Staffordshire	8	4	(small field)
Warwickshire	5	2	
Leicestershire	4	6	
West of England	2	1	
South Wales	3	0	

The north and west of England produce the bulk of her coal supply, and, making allowance for this fact, the average thickness of English coal seams may be estimated at three feet. On the Continent the coal veins are smaller. The coal seams of northern France range from 1 foot 11 inches to 2 feet 9 inches in thickness. In central and southern France, the thickness is greater; but here the beds are broken and full of faults, being tilted in every direction, and, on this account, difficult to work. The coal seams of Belgium run from ten inches to three feet in thickness. In Prussia, in the more important Westphalia deposits, the thickness ranges from 2 feet 6 inches to 3 feet 1 inch. In Silesia, it is 2 feet 6 inches. Westphalia produces the greater part of the output of Germany. If we admit the average thickness of the coal seams of the Continent to be from 2 feet 6 inches to 3 feet, we shall be in little danger of underestimating it.

In the United States we find that the coal seams are generally much thicker than those of Great Britain and the Continent of Europe. To show the thickness of American coal seams, I have taken from the Field Museum reports typical mines for the principal coal-producing States. The results appear in the following table:

STATE.	PRODUCTION 1897.	THICKNESS OF VEIN. FEET.	INCHES.
Pennsylvania	54,400,000 tons	10	5
Illinois	20,000,000 "	4	9
West Virginia	13,700,000 "	6	10
Ohio	12,400,000 "	7	8
Alabama	5,800,000 "	5	1
Indiana	4,200,000 "	5	7

This represents more than two-thirds of the coal production of the United States, and gives an average thickness of 8 feet 8 inches. If the seams of Pennsylvania be given the weight in this average which the greater importance of this State as a coal producer demands, the thickness for these six States rises to 9 feet; and if a single average be taken for the entire country — an average which gives

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the same importance to the thin seams of Kansas and Iowa as to the thick seams of Pennsylvania and West Virginia — the average thickness of American coal seams may be estimated at 5 feet. All things considered, it is a safe estimate that the workable coal seams of the United States have twice the thickness of those in Great Britain and Northern Europe.

So we see that the superficial coal area of the United States is greater than that of Europe; that our coal deposits are larger, and that our coal seams are thicker. The result of these advantages is seen in the greater output per miner in the United States, in the lower mine price of American coal, and in the growing export of coal from America to Europe.

From 1872 to 1893 the annual output per person employed in the coal mining industry of Great Britain decreased from 310 to 275 tons, in France from 190 to 165, and in Belgium from 167 to 165. In Germany it increased slightly, from 274 to 280 tons, while in the United States it increased from 370 to 540 tons. This was a period of rapid improvement in mining appliances and processes, and the efficiency of production was greatly increasing. In the United States the full effect of these improvements is seen in an increase in the individual output of 170 tons. In this country the character of the deposits allowed invention and improvement to have their perfect work in increasing the supply. In Great Britain and on the Continent, on the other hand, where improvement, although less active than in the United States, still made rapid progress, the disadvantages of coal mining were so great that in every country but one, in the face of technical improvement, the individual output decreased. In spite of his utmost endeavor the foreign miner is waging a hopeless battle. He is fighting the law of diminishing returns, which is steadily forcing up his cost of production.

This increasing cost means higher prices. From 1885 to 1894, wholesale prices were steadily falling both in Europe and the United States, but in Europe, France excepted, the price of coal did not fall with other prices. In Belgium, during this period, the mine price of coal rose from $1.71 to $1.80; in Germany from $1.26 to $1.59, and in Great Britain from $1.24 to $1.60. In France a slight fall occurred, from $2.28 to $2.17. In the United States the price declined very materially — from $1.58 to $1.20.

The result of this has been a slow, but steady, increase in the export of American coal to Europe, a movement which promises soon to

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assume large proportions. In spite of distance, in spite of higher freights, in spite of the low value of the product in proportion to its bulk, the advance in coal prices abroad is rapidly bringing about such a condition that American exporters can pay all the charges and yet profitably export coal to Europe. In 1899, according to the report of the London Board of Trade, the mine price of coal in England was $1.58, in France $2.25, in Germany $1.85, in Belgium $2.18, and in the United States $1.10. Here is a margin of fifty cents to one dollar per ton in favor of the United States, and that margin shows no sign of diminishing, rather tending to increase. To quote again from Jevons, who so accurately foresaw this result:

> "Our industry will certainly last and grow until our mines are commonly sunk two thousand or three thousand, or even four thousand feet deep. But when that time comes the States of Northern America will still be working coal in the light of day, quarrying it down on the banks of the Ohio, and running it down into boats alongside. The question is, how soon will our mines approach the limit of commercial possibility and fail to secure us any longer that manufacturing supremacy on which we are learning to be wholly dependent?"

The coal mines of Europe are sunk three thousand feet deep; coal is still being quarried on the banks of the Ohio; and the mines of Europe are nearing the limit of commercial possibility. The manufacturing supremacy of the Old World is passing to the New. Coal is King, and his throne is fixed forever in the United States.

EDWARD SHERWOOD MEADE.

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EDUCATION IN PUERTO RICO.

Upon assuming command of the island of Puerto Rico, as first military governor, General Brooke found in existence a public-school system the history of which dated back to the beginning of the century. But the conduct of the system had been so inefficient that less than fifteen per cent of the population could read and write, and probably a majority of these had received their education in private secular or ecclesiastical institutions. General Brooke's brief administration, however, gave no opportunity for the consideration of school reforms. As a matter of fact, the initiative in these was taken by the people themselves. At a popular representative assembly, held at San Juan, October 30, 1898, for the purpose of expressing the views of the people as to the island's social and political needs, the following resolution was passed:

> As regards public education, the best means of advancing our people would be through kindergartens and normal schools as established in the United States. Our elementary and superior schools should be remodelled and graded according to modern pedagogic methods. Secondary instruction should be a continuation of the primary and a preparation for superior and collegiate. Universal education should be introduced. There should be established schools for adults, Sunday schools, schools of arts and trade, libraries, museums, academies of fine arts, and literary clubs.
>
> Education must be obligatory and gratuitous, and it must be compulsory upon every municipality to sustain its own schools, the number being fixed by law with reference to the population. If the municipality is unable to sustain all the schools, the State should establish the additional ones that are necessary.

Upon succeeding General Brooke as governor, in December, 1898, General Henry issued a circular to the president and secretaries of council, calling attention, among other things, to the necessity of extending present educational facilities, and suggesting the employment of an American teacher in each municipality to give instruction in English. He shortly afterward summoned to the island General John Eaton, formerly United States Commissioner of Education, to take charge of educational affairs, acting under the insular secretary of the interior. The writer of the present article was im-

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mediately called to the island as General Eaton's assistant, and, when the latter returned to the United States, the following May, was placed in charge of the department — including, at this time, both public charities and education. Upon the abolition of the secretaryships, by General Davis, in August, 1899, the heads of the various civil bureaus and departments were required to report directly to the military governor, and were assisted, in some instances, by advisory or administrative boards, composed of both Americans and Puerto Ricans. In accordance with this scheme, an insular board of education was appointed, which took quite an active part in the discussion of educational affairs during the continuance of the military government of the island.

When General Eaton took charge of the educational bureau, he found prevailing all the confusion and disorganization incident upon a war and a radical change of government. The system of the recent autonomous assembly had not entirely superseded the former system of the Messina and Despujol decrees; and the provisions of both had seldom been enforced, and, in many instances, had been arbitrarily violated. Many schools were closed, and salaries were in arrears; and there was a general disposition on the part of local authorities supporting the schools to shirk all responsibility for their supervision and maintenance, and to await the action of the military government.

A reorganization of the office force of the bureau was speedily effected. English primers were purchased and placed in the schools, and some attempt at English instruction was made in the larger towns. In March, 1899, by special order of the military governor, a system of close supervision of all the schools of the island, under sixteen English supervisors, was established. The Secondary Institute and the Girls' Normal, which seemed to be giving no adequate educational return for the large sums spent upon them, were investigated by a special commission of Puerto Ricans and Americans; and they were ordered suspended upon the recommendation of this body at the close of the academic year. In April, upon the advice of the secretary of state, but not seconded by General Eaton, an order was issued by the military governor transferring the cost of maintaining the schools from the beginning of the following fiscal year, July 1, 1899, from the municipalities to the insular treasury. During the same month, upon General Eaton's recommendation, a series of general orders, constituting a new educational code, were issued by General Henry.

It was the theory of the early American administrators in Puerto

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Rico that the people would react against legislation much as they do in the United States; that they would respond readily to grants of privileges and local rights; and that they would take the initiative in working out their own salvation, if the barriers and restraints of superior authority were once removed. Had we known then that the more enlightened Spanish governors had failed repeatedly to secure results by similar methods our confidence in their success might have been less complete. Be this as it may, the fundamental principle of the new law was that full authority in the control and administration of their schools should be granted to the people of each town and *barrio* (or country district), who were empowered by this act to effect a simple political organization for this purpose.

The insular government offered to provide teachers, text-books, charts, and maps for all schools that might thus be organized, leaving to the local committee only the slight financial burden of leasing and furnishing a building. Other clauses of the new law prohibited the taking of fees from pupils, thus making the public schools for the first time really free; shortened the school year somewhat; designated legal holidays and school hours, which had been left largely to the discretion of the teacher; established a graded course of study covering six years' work, in which catechism and church doctrines were omitted; provided for a more thorough system of certificating teachers, and for their employment by the local authorities under contract, thus destroying their former "proprietary" status; and required that the school-house and the teacher's residence should be on separate premises. Coëducation was not required, but was encouraged; and it was provided that in country districts — where until this time no provision had been made for the instruction of girls — girls should be admitted to the schools upon the request of their parents, unless separate schools were provided by the authorities. This law went into effect with the opening of the schools in the autumn of 1899.

No serious difficulty was encountered in enforcing this law so far as it related to the internal administration of the schools themselves. But wherever it touched upon the political life of the community, wherever it counted upon the initiative or coöperation of local authorities, or of the people, it proved inoperative, and soon required amendment. To a certain extent, exceptional conditions were responsible for this. The great storm of August 8, 1899, destroyed many of the buildings available for school use; and, by devastating the plantations, it put an end to local tax collections, so that municipal revenues practically

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ceased for a time. Financial resources and the interest of the people were absorbed for the time being in relieving actual want and distress. Under the circumstances, it was really a remarkable achievement, creditable to local as well as to insular authorities, that in less than five months later more schools were actually in session than ever before, and that the attendance was probably greater than at any previous time in the history of the island. But this result was largely due to the pressure and vigilance of military authority, able to provide a *deus ex machina* for every emergency.

By indications that were independent of the misfortunes that had befallen the island, it soon became evident that if there was a crying demand for public schools on the part of the great mass of the population, it never became articulate or expressed itself in active attempts to secure school facilities. The forces that had been relied upon to start an educational revival from the bottom of society did not appear. The steps by which was demonstrated the necessity of the centralized, and more or less imposed and paternal, system of school administration later adopted are too numerous to be traced in full here. They constitute practically the whole history of school administration in the island during the last scholastic year.

Out of the eight hundred towns and *barrios* of the island less than a score made any attempt to effect a local school organization under the new law. Where this was done it was due in most instances to the initiative of the English supervisor or of some American resident. It was thus made necessary to continue the municipality as the local unit of school administration instead of the town or *barrio* — probably a fortunate result upon the whole. The old local boards of Spanish rule were retained in authority until the recent municipal elections, when five school trustees — not more than three of the same party — were elected in each municipality of the island.

The local boards, where already constituted, failed in many instances to provide buildings or furniture for the schools, or to elect teachers. Private interests clashed in the selection of buildings, and personal and political interests in the election of teachers. In the city of San Juan buildings were not provided for the schools until over a month after the date of opening. As late as March 1 the local board had not yet appointed all the teachers provided for — who were to be paid from the insular budget for the last scholastic year — although less than fifteen per cent of the children of school age were in school, and although there were as many pupils on the waiting list, who had been

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refused admission for lack of room and teachers, as there were actually in attendance. The delay in appointing had been due to the fact that the party in power feared that the disappointed applicants might work against them in the coming municipal elections. When this was the condition in the capital of the island, a locality directly subject to the influence of enlightened native leaders and of the central educational authorities, it can well be imagined what was going on in the outlying districts. In Ponce and many other towns a change in the political complexion of the local board led to an immediate discharge of teachers belonging to the party in minority. Sometimes a deadlock in a local board occurred, and the whole body would resign, leaving a town without any local school administration.

Under these circumstances, it became necessary to administer many of the schools from the central office, through the agency of the English supervisors. By general orders amending the school code, the insular superintendent was given authority to appoint teachers, rent buildings — at the expense of the municipality — and take whatever other measures were necessary to secure the opening of the schools where local authorities failed to act. By delegating this authority to the supervisors, who possessed a practical knowledge of local conditions in their respective districts, schools were opened with reasonable promptness, in most instances, and in far better quarters and under more favorable conditions for effective work than had ever been the case before in the history of the island. By the end of the first term, at the close of December, 1899, reliable statistics, gathered during actual visits to the schools by the supervisors themselves, showed an enrollment of 15,440 boys and 8,952 girls, with an average daily attendance of over 82 per cent. About 15,000 of these children were entering school for the first time, and less than a thousand had advanced beyond the most elementary work — simple prose reading and the four operations with integers. About 3,000 children were receiving all their instruction under American teachers.

About seventy teachers, mostly normal graduates, were brought from the United States and sent out to the various towns, in accordance with General Henry's recommendation, to give instruction in English. For the purpose of illustrating our methods of school organization and instruction, so far as was possible under the conditions existing, it was found advisable to place these teachers in charge of model grades of primary children, devoting but a portion of their time to instruction in English in the other grades. These young ladies — as

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they were in most instances — did heroic work. It took true heroism to meet the conditions — the isolation, the solitude, the slum life, the absence of all accustomed and the presence of unaccustomed things — that they had to encounter. But it is doubtful whether the experiment should be repeated. The island cannot afford to pay salaries that will attract really competent teachers to work under such conditions; and if it could, the hostility and jealousy of the native teachers, and of their friends and relatives, would be aroused by these higher salaries to such an extent as to make the work difficult and unpleasant, and, to a large extent, ineffective. Puerto Ricans are more excusable for this feeling than we might fancy. They were obliged to contend for a livelihood with the more favored Peninsulars in all phases of public employment during Spanish rule, and they naturally distrust Americans as the possible successors of these.

English instruction of some sort was attempted in all the schools of the island, and books and a reading chart were furnished for this purpose. Experience shows, however, that this subject possesses no practical or pedagogical value unless taught by teachers understanding the language. No parallel can be drawn between the Puerto Rican child and the foreign child learning English in the United States. The former goes home to a hut, or hovel, as a rule, sees no books or pictures, and hears no conversation possessing any culture value outside of school. His simple range of ideas is expressed in a barbarous *patois* of a few hundred words, and he has a peasant's linguistic conservatism. He hears no spoken English, and sees no written English in his play or home life; and he is not in any way committed to an English-speaking career. Add to these adverse influences an imperfectly trained teacher, unfamiliar with the language, and progress is slow indeed.

The race question, while by no means absent, does not present as serious difficulties as in our own country. For the coming year a negro has been elected principal of the largest school in the island — the boys' graded school of San Juan — where probably eighty per cent of the pupils attending are white. In Spanish times persons known to have negro blood in their veins were not generally admitted to the principal café in San Juan, the Mallorquina, or to fashionable clubs or society balls. This restriction still exists. The feeling that dictated such measures was reflected to some extent in the attitude of parents toward schools attended by children of both races. But unless this sentiment is accentuated through the influence of Amer-

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ican prejudices upon the islanders, it does not at present seem likely to prove a serious problem in school administration.

In the spring of 1899 an American school, under American teachers, was opened at Ponce. The school was founded and supported during the first months of its existence by a private society of that city, but has since been maintained and administered by the Government. All instruction is in English; the waiting list has always been large; and the progress of the pupils, despite the language difficulty, has been more rapid than in the municipal schools under native teachers, where Spanish was used. This last fact is largely due to the superior discipline and method and system in the school work of the American teachers. This school, I may say, has been coëducational from the start.

In the autumn of 1899 a model, in conjunction with a training, school was opened at San Juan in a public-school building — the only one in the island — erected for its use. It is also coëducational. Its courses are entirely in English, except in one department of the high school, where many of the former students of the Secondary Institute are completing their courses. Instruction extends from the kindergarten through the college preparatory subjects. There are well-equipped scientific laboratories, and there is also a sloyd department — all under competent instructors from the United States. About one-third of the children in attendance are Americans, belonging to the families of army officers and civilian government employés. There is a training class for primary teachers and of kindergartners, who practise methods of teaching in connection with their academic studies.

A normal school is to be established at Fajardo, a coast town in the northeastern part of the island, about thirty miles from San Juan, where a site of one hundred acres has already been purchased. The municipality provided $20,000 bonus for the school, and the insular government appropriated an equal sum, so that $40,000 was available for site and buildings.

Teachers' examinations, modelled after the State Board examinations in Minnesota and the Regents' examinations in New York, are held quarterly by the supervisors at the headquarters of their respective districts. Forty-eight native teachers were sent to the United States in the summer of 1899 to study English and American school methods. They were kept separate as much as possible, with a view to securing a better mastery of the language. Several served as

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Spanish tutors in private families, in positions secured for them before they left the island. There is a general disposition among the teachers to learn English and to improve their methods of instruction. They still retain a high opinion of American ways of doing things, though some of the American teachers imported probably shattered more ideals than they created. They are as a rule bright and intelligent, as quick to detect our deficiencies as our good qualities, and often possess a good breeding and a native refinement that are very agreeable. There are less than a thousand qualified teachers in the island. This illustrates one of the difficulties we are obliged to meet in immediately extending school privileges to all the children. The number of qualified teachers would have to be trebled or quadrupled to effect this.

General Davis doubled the proportion of the public revenues devoted to education, raising it from six to twelve per cent — still less than half that of the United States. This gave about $413,000 per annum for the schools, and provided facilities for the instruction of from 25,000 to 30,000 children — about one-seventh of those of school age in the island. Had the entire general revenue of Puerto Rico for the past economic year been devoted to the support of her schools, it would no more than have sufficed for the instruction of the illiterate youth of the island under eighteen years of age — had a compulsory attendance law been enforced. It is readily seen, therefore, that the financial problem is fundamental. It is doubtful whether for fifty years to come Puerto Rico will be able to support, from her own resources, schools enough to raise all her people to a plane of intelligence fitting them for self-government.

Present conditions render necessary the expenditure of a larger share of the revenues for non-educational purposes than with us. In twenty-five representative towns of the United States, including a number in the "black belt," the average expenditure for schools is five times that for police. In twenty-five towns of Puerto Rico the police expenditure is double that for schools, and the number of police employed twice the number of teachers. Increase in the number of schools supported by the island can only accompany an increased revenue-paying power of the people, and conditions enabling a larger proportion of the revenues to be devoted to educational purposes. But, as education itself is the means of securing these results, any immediate solution of the problem is somewhat analogous to lifting one's self by one's bootstraps.

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The expense of maintaining schools is very high in Puerto Rico, if we consider what is received for the money. The cost per capita per pupil enrolled last year was over $13, while in Missouri, with its large and expensive urban systems, its secondary schools, and its university, the per capita expenditure was less than $9. This is due to lack of school buildings and school plant in general, and to ignorance of the principles of economical school administration on the part of school authorities. Lax discipline and absence of system and organization in the conduct of the schools account for much waste of effort and ineffective work. The gradual creation of an educational plant, and the gaining of experience in the management of their own affairs on the part of the people, will be the only way to obviate the former difficulty. The establishment of good normal schools — our experience at San Juan and Ponce shows that these schools can be conducted successfully under American teachers, and with courses entirely in English — accompanied by a consistently strict central administration, requiring the employment of normal graduates as fast as they become available, will in time improve the internal management of the common schools. To expect that either of these things can be accomplished in a day, or even in a few years, is to doom one's self to disappointment.

The total result of the American influence exerted over the school system of Puerto Rico has been wonderfully broadening and beneficial, however, and were we to withdraw from the island to-day it would certainly endure. Nearly 100,000 modern American textbooks in Spanish have disseminated information throughout the land. Teachers' examinations, conducted in writing and without the possibility of favoritism being shown, have set new standards of attainment before both teachers and pupils. The separation of the schools from the teachers' residences — though the schools still occupy rented buildings — has introduced a higher ideal of school organization, and has tended to emphasize the school as a distinct institution. New ideas and ideals are beginning to germinate, and will in time bear fruit. The progress at first may be very slow, especially in view of the limited resources available; but the educational process that is going on is affecting not only the children but their elders as well. And while none of us can predict just what form the final outcome of our educational work in the island will assume, we can feel assured that the result of our efforts will be salutary.

VICTOR SELDEN CLARK.

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OUR AGREEMENT WITH THE SULTAN OF SULU.

General Otis had quite enough to do in the great northern island of Luzon at the time when the duty was laid upon him to assume control of the affairs of the Moros[1] in the south. With Lawton's column making the famous march on San Isidro, Kobbé's moving up the Rio Grande, and MacArthur's covering Pampanga province, the "hermit" at Manila, who directed these operations, might have been pardoned if he had said that he could not spare a thought or a soldier. But the report had come to him that the Sultan and his *datos* were buying arms; moreover, the Spanish Governor-General had received orders from Madrid to withdraw the Joló[2] and Zamboanga garrisons immediately. Delay in taking possession would have invited the Moros to resist, even turning the guns in the abandoned Spanish fortifications upon tardy American troops.

A rather curious situation arose then, bringing together the extremes of experience and of opinion. Entering this field with reluctance and certain misgivings, General Otis was favored by fortune here as in scarcely any other venture. The contact of our soldiers with the most warlike portion of the archipelago's inhabitants was most peaceful; and I think it will appear that the very chapter in the story of the American occupation of the Philippines which has been most commonly referred to with confident scorn by critics of the present administration's policy is, in point of fact, the most creditable of all, or the least open to censure. I shall touch on the diplomacy employed by General Bates, acting for General Otis — the policy of conciliation and of tact as a substitute for force, which might have been equally successful in the north a year earlier — and shall consider the charge, still often repeated, that the United States entered into an

[1] The Mohammedan Malays are called "Moros," whether resident in the Sulu Archipelago or in Mindanao, this being the common name quite naturally bestowed by Spaniards upon followers of the Prophet.

[2] Sulu and Joló: The words are used interchangeably, though the latter is preferred by Spanish writers. As a convenient distinction, I would suggest the employment of "Joló" to designate the town and island, and of "Sulu" in a wider sense—as the Sulu Archipelago, Sultanate, and language.

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agreement to pay tribute to the Sultan of Sulu, and to sanction the institutions of slavery and polygamy.

We must bear in mind that Spain's relations to the Sulu Archipelago since her little gunboats succeeded in checking the piratical raids had been indefinite and variable. Steadfast only in the design to maintain a show of sovereignty, she had at critical periods treated for peace with the Moros on terms which, oftener than otherwise, left her nothing but the symbol of authority, while all the revenues and practically unrestrained freedom of action were conceded to the Sultan and his chiefs — the half independent feudatories called *datos*. The impression which the natives received when the Spanish military forces were withdrawn was, quite naturally, that sovereignty had been reconveyed to them. The Spanish garrison's action in putting them in possession of Siassi, and promising to do the same with Joló, thus restoring the two places especially coveted, was also a further encouragement of the most tangible sort. General Otis so fully realized the difficulty of dispelling this illusion that, in his instructions to General Bates, he cautioned the latter to use tact and adroitness. "A discussion of the United States' benevolent intentions, and its wish to establish friendly relations with the Sultan and his *datos* in order to carry out those intentions," he wrote, "should precede any decided attempt at correction."

And yet, almost immediately following this good advice in the letter of instructions referred to, a passage occurs which shows an anxious, conscientious man off his guard for a moment:

> "The United States will accept the obligations of Spain under the agreement of 1878 in the matter of money annuities, and in proof of sincerity you will offer as a present to the Sultan and *datos* $10,000, Mexican, with which you will be supplied before leaving for Joló—the same to be handed over to them, respectively, in amounts agreeing with the ratio of payments made to them by the Spanish Government for their declared services. From the first of September next, and thereafter, the United States will pay to them regularly the sums promised by Spain in its agreement of 1878, and in any subsequent promises of which proof can be furnished. The United States will promise, in return for concessions to be hereinafter mentioned, not to interfere with, but to *protect the Moros in the free exercise of their religion and customs, social and domestic.*"

It is easy to see how an agent less shrewd than the one selected for this mission might have misused the authority conveyed in such words, if only in using it *all;* for unquestionably the money annuities, under the old *régime*, were adapted to a different state of affairs, while the clause which I have italicized conceded more than was necessary, to say the least.

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Precisely at this point we may begin to appreciate the agent's course. General Bates arrived at Joló on July 16, and sent a verbal message to the Sultan at Maybun, his capital, twelve miles distant. There was no response. Two days later he wrote, requesting the Sultan to come to Joló "very soon." On the 19th, the Sultan's oldest brother, Rajah Muda, with two others — the secretary and an adviser of His Highness — called upon the general to offer excuses and explanations. A week passed, and nothing was accomplished beyond learning through these representatives that the Sultan's principal claims were: (1) That the Americans should not be allowed to occupy any point in the Sulu Archipelago except the town of Joló; and (2) that he himself should have the exclusive privilege of collecting duties at all other ports. Quietly accepting this unreasonable disposition as a fact, and not wasting strength in argument, or damaging his cause by threats, General Bates resolved to treat, not with the Sultan alone, but with all the leading *datos*, and to play off the local jealousies of different chiefs the one against the other; knowing well that if he should succeed in winning over such a powerful feudatory as the *dato* Joakanain, who had twice fought and defeated the Sultan, the latter would be obliged to submit.

Accordingly, we find him before the end of the month making arrangements for a visit from the *dato* Mandi of Zamboanga, receiving him and his suite hospitably, and dismissing him with "a flag and present." He had a conference with Joakanain's brother, Calbi, the day after the *dato* Mandi sailed away; and on August 1 he proceeded on the gunboat *Manila* to Lugus, where the *dato* Amir Hussin came on board, and accepted a flag and a gift. Next he went to the island of Basilan, taking another *dato*, Kalun, as a companion for a part of the voyage. In brief, his affair was marching so prosperously now that the Sultan became nervous, and sent a copy of an agreement that he wished to have adopted. This being rejected, a letter from the Sultana Inchi Jamela, "a remarkable woman, who has had great influence in these islands," arrived on the 12th, and two days afterward General Bates went to the Sultan's residence at Maybun, where a satisfactory conference was held, and the terms of an agreement were proposed and accepted. Now, finally, the Sultan would go to Joló; and he and his *datos* would acknowledge there, on August 20, by their elaborate signatures affixed to a document in English and Sulu, the sovereignty of the United States over the whole archipelago, the right of any person to purchase land, and

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the duty to suppress piracy, and to refrain from further importation of firearms and war material. The interval was employed in visiting such ex-pirates as Tantung, at Bongao, far away to the southwest, and in coming to a definite understanding (here, again, flag and present playing their part) with the redoubtable Joakanain. The appointed day brought the head of Islam, with about one hundred followers, to Joló, the Mecca of the Orient. The Sultan's followers were apparently well disposed, and were certainly well received by the troops.

Article X of the agreement signed on that day provides that any slave in the archipelago of Joló shall have the right to purchase freedom by paying the master the usual market value. Commenting upon this General Bates says:

"I found that the institution of slavery exists in a very mild form (in fact, the word 'retainer' expresses this condition better than 'slave'), the average price being about $20 gold. I also found that the Moros were jealous of any interference with it; but it seemed proper that steps should be at once taken looking to the abolition of the institution. It seemed but fair that the owners should be remunerated, and I think that Article X of the agreement provides a speedy means of doing away with slavery. I had proposed a specific sum to be paid the owner, but agreed to the Moros' suggestion of 'the usual market value.'"

The Secretary of War, in a despatch to General Otis, dated October 27, 1899, said that the agreement was confirmed and approved by the President, subject to the action of Congress, but insisted that the Sultan should be distinctly informed that it must not be deemed in any way to authorize or give the consent of the United States to the existence of slavery in the Sulu archipelago. Secretary Root also directed that inquiry should be made as to the number of persons held in slavery in the archipelago, and what arrangement for their emancipation might be practicable.

The third article of the agreement promises that "the Moros shall not be interfered with on account of their religion; all their religious customs shall be respected, and no one shall be persecuted on account of his religion;" and in the concluding article it is written that "the United States Government will pay the following monthly salaries" — salaries ranging in amount from 250 Mexican dollars for the Sultan to fifteen for Serif Saguir.

According to the assurance which President McKinley gave to the Senate last February, these payments will be made from the revenues of the Philippine Islands, unless Congress shall otherwise direct:

"Such payments [the President added] are not for specific services, but

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are a part of the consideration moving to the Sulu tribe or nation under the agreement, and they have been stipulated for, subject to the action of Congress, in conformity with the practice of this government from the earliest times in its agreements with the various Indian nations occupying and governing portions of territory subject to the sovereignty of the United States."

Now, payments of money which are described in the treaty as "salaries," and which may be fairly explained by reference to our dealings with the North American Indians, do not readily assume the guise of "tribute" in our minds, for it is scarcely necessary to say that those who are bent on finding cause for offence have employed the word "tribute" in the more injurious sense — as a stated sum of money paid in acknowledgment of submission or as the price of protection; nor could the use of the term in this connection have afforded them so much pleasure if there were not this implication of weakness and inferiority on the part of the nation which is charged with the payment of "tribute" to another state, and which is therefore in a position comparable with that sustained by a subject to his sovereign or lord.

A word that suggests an utterly impossible situation is usually condemned after a little scrutiny, for it is like vice itself (according to Pope), and "to be hated needs but to be seen." Accordingly I might be content to say that we evidently have to do with no such exceptional arrangement, no acknowledgment of submission, but with a mere subsidy or pecuniary aid, a feature that is surely familiar in both English and American history; and I might ask if good Christians think it such a hardship to allow the Mohammedan chiefs a little pocket-money pending the readjustment, their old revenues having been cut off? Curiously enough, however, all such payments of money by unbelievers to Mohammedans are by the latter so cheerfully misconstrued that, as I shall presently make clear, even General Bates's quite moderate "salaries" may be possibly accepted as "tribute" by the other party to the contract.

As for the objection that the clause in the agreement protecting the religion of the country practically intrenches polygamy, this surely is a charge which, while it has the appearance of truth at first sight, is essentially false. Not to the government, but to individuals — teachers, lay and clerical — must such problems be assigned. The agreement does not protect any religious custom whatever against the only form of attack which could be effective — instruction in the ways of civilized life, for which an opening and a footing have now been secured. In this particular matter, our Government,

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as such, had no duties toward the Moros last summer except the duty of non-interference. Moreover, this single obligation was so enjoined upon it by the spirit of American institutions that its silence, if the subject of the natives' religion had been wholly ignored, would have meant not less than the words of Article III convey. As I write I recall a paragraph in the morning paper describing the election of a new chief by the Sac and Fox Indians, a tribe of about one thousand braves who live in Oklahoma. Wa-pa-ke-sek was duly installed as chief the other day in place of Nah-mat-way, and thus fell heir to the family of the deceased leader, which consisted of three squaws and six children. His own family numbered five squaws and ten children. Eight squaws for this Indian of Oklahoma, while the Holy Law allows to the best and richest of the Moros only four !

Here is a record which, on the whole, may be examined with satisfaction — with more satisfaction than a student is likely to feel when he examines the beginnings of our occupation of the Philippines in any other department, except, possibly, the constitution-making under American direction on Negros Island. But in the contentment with which he reviewed these successful negotiations, General Otis's optimism carried him too far, as it seems to me; for, instead of insisting that strong military stations should be maintained, he advised the War Department that "the best means to insure success appears to be through the cultivation of friendly sentiments and the introduction of trade and commerce upon approved business methods."

One cannot help noticing this failure to apprehend fully the very peculiar situation. To speak of *insuring* success through the cultivation of friendly sentiments is so positively and dangerously misleading that one does not feel able to quote the sentence without adding a word of protest. Unfortunately, there is reason to fear that the garrisons in the southern islands are inadequate. We need not attach much importance to recent despatches which describe a certain restlessness at points widely separated — in Mindanao and the Tawi-Tawi group. The constant menace, the thing to consider, is a tenet of Mohammedan faith brutally and fiercely held among half-savage people. In spite of the treaty, our soldiers are enemies in their eyes, because they are not Mohammedans; the "salaries" paid by unbelievers may, indeed, be accepted as tribute, for the law forbidding the Moro to pay money or sell arms to infidels (lest he should be the weaker when the inevitable conflict breaks out again) also encourages him to take all he can get, with the design of increasing his own fighting

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power while diminishing that of his enemies; nor will he be likely to learn from his law or its expounders that gratitude is due to the unbeliever in return for considerate treatment.

An outbreak will scarcely be headed by the *dato* Mandi, for example, who wears European dress, has travelled westward as far as Barcelona, and incidentally has learned to interpret the law less harshly; but after making due allowance for such exceptional persons, there remain at least twenty thousand hardy fellows who would hold it to be meritorious work to kill all of the American infidels for the actual or imputed offence of one. If we could change their religion in any particular by treaty, there would be little doubt where we should begin. As matters stand, let us realize fully and without delay that the Moro will not give up such inbred prejudice unless his personal observation of Americans disproves the old teaching and disproves it utterly. Let us realize at once that it is absurd to expect uniformly chivalrous conduct on the part of our soldiers if these southern garrisons are too weak to command respect; for weakness there will beget suspicion and nervousness, and very good men will swagger a bit — enough to provoke attack — when they are not quite sure of themselves and want to conceal the fact.

Abundant force in reserve — and in evidence, too — is not less essential than the conciliatory method so happily inaugurated. In the southern islands we may find the most curious and interesting side of our Philippine problem.

MARRION WILCOX.

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THE ATLANTIC UNION.

FOUR or five years ago I found myself one evening, at the latter end of June, in the little town of Melrose. It was at the end of what is there called the "American" fortnight. It appears that a good many American visitors, coming over in June, begin with Scotland, and take Melrose, with Abbotsford and Dryburgh, on their way to Edinburgh. The hotel, quite a small house, had been filled with them.

When I arrived, however, they were mostly gone; only one party was left. It consisted of five; namely, two men and three ladies. They were extremely pleasant, cultivated gentlefolk — all of English or Scottish descent. They were making their first, and very probably — for they were not rich — their only visit to the land of their forefathers. They came from some central part of the United States. They found the English ways strange in almost every respect. They were keenly interested in everything: the quiet little country town; the lovely ruins of Melrose and Dryburgh; Scott's house of Abbotsford; and the fair country in which these things are placed. They had not come over in any spirit of hostile criticism. They were fully disposed to see the best side of everything, but that they were prejudiced in certain directions was a fact that came out in conversation every two minutes; and that their prejudices were founded on imperfect knowledge was equally apparent.

I learned, in the course of conversation, that they were unprovided with any letters of introduction; that they did not look forward to receiving any kind of hospitality in the country; and that they did not expect to enter any English house, or to make the acquaintance of any English people. In other words, this little company, brought up to regard things social from points of view quite opposite to our own, accustomed to quite another atmosphere, whether of religion, or of politics, or of society, were about to wander round this country, finding out differences at every turn, and asking themselves, always *from their own point of view*, how the English people can possibly suffer these differences to exist. After a few weeks,

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they would return with all their prejudices confirmed; for the rest of their lives they would quote what they had actually seen, or thought they had seen, looking at everything through those American spectacles of theirs. This seemed to me a forlorn, and even a hopeless, way to visit their ancestral home.

But it was a typical company, and, since talking with them, I have had many other opportunities of realizing what American travel in Great Britain too often means. In the summer, one meets American visitors at all the show places, and even in many spots that are quite out of the ordinary line of tourists. They are always apart; they are always in hotels; they sit together at their own tables; they seldom converse with English visitors, either because they are shy of opening a conversation, or because the English are shy. They see what the guide-book tells them to look for; and, whatever that may be, the guide-book is certain to take out of it all the poetry, all the veneration, and all the life. Sometimes they are "doing" England after "doing" Europe; and when they arrive, they are already sick to death of sight-seeing, and so are no longer capable of observation, or of being moved by anything. For my own part, as it is the chief pleasure of my life to go about looking at the old towns, the historical places, the cathedrals, abbeys, churches, castles, and ancient houses of this mediæval museum which, for political purposes, we call Great Britain, I have met more of these forlorn companies than most men, and I am every year strengthened in the conviction that such a mode of travel is not only forlorn, and a mere presentation of the outside shell, but is actively mischievous, because it only confirms prejudices and keeps the American *pince-nez* across the nose.

These travellers may also be met with in London. The richer kind crowd the great hotels at Charing Cross: all day long the American ladies are coming and going, driving out and returning. But alas! there are no English ladies with them. Those who are not so rich go to hotels of the humbler character, and may be met strolling down Regent Street, visiting the shows and sights of London, guide-book in hand. They may be seen in carriages driving around; they may be found at the theatres; you may look for them everywhere except at the houses of your friends. Of course, I shall be told that Americans are received freely in society; that the *grande dame* is often herself an American; and it is quite true that there are duchesses and countesses and wives of cabinet ministers of American birth. How many Americans, however, do you think, out of the

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many thousands who come over here every year, carry with them letters of introduction to these ladies? How many are invited to their receptions? How many are privileged with the intimacy of their country houses?

But let me return to my Melrose party. Of the two gentlemen, one was a clergyman, and the other was a lawyer. They came, as I said, from some quiet country town in a central State. What would have happened if these two gentlemen had brought with them letters introductory to the leaders of society? What hospitality would they have received had they presented those letters? Probably an invitation to a reception; possibly one to a dinner party. By standing for an hour or two in a very well-dressed crowd our friends would acquire, I suppose, an intimate knowledge of English society and a firm hold of English ways. Now, English life is not confined to what is commonly called society: in England, as in the United States and the Colonies, there are really plenty of people worth knowing outside the circles which are commonly taken to represent society.

Let me not seem to be attempting a cheap sneer at these circles. They are many and various: some are well-bred and highly cultured; some are well bred and not highly cultured; some are ill bred and not cultured at all, yet rich and in good positions. My point is this: that there are gentlemen and gentlewomen, scholars, well bred, well mannered, who live in simple style, who belong to the professional classes — the same class as that to which my Melrose party belonged — in whose houses American visitors of the same class would learn what they can never learn by wandering about the country, or by gathering together in great hotels, or by going to the theatre, or by attending crowded receptions, viz., the English manners and the English ways — what they mean, how they differ from American ways and why, and how it is that we do not find certain institutions as intolerable as their imagination depicts.

We live, for example, under a form of government which differs from their own in many points not easily understood because it so closely resembles theirs. Thus, it is curiously difficult for an American to dissociate the idea of a sovereign from that of autocratic rule. A sovereign means to him that poor old king, George the Third, whom he has been taught to call tyrant and oppressor, when, after all, he was only half educated, obstinate, and badly advised. He does not understand that the sovereign has much less power than his own President. It seems to him part of the eternal fitness of things

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— because it is part of the Constitution — that he should enjoy, every four years, what seems to us the intolerable nuisance of electing his President. Nor, again, does he understand hereditary rank. If he would go into the London clubs he would understand that a noble Lord is treated just like any other gentleman, while retaining the privileges of his rank, such as they are.

Nor can an American understand why the right of legislation should be hereditary. In a country where everything has grown and decayed and grown again and developed in this or that way, there are everywhere anachronisms and illogical institutions. If election is really the sovereign remedy for all evils, a House of Lords is an absurdity, or worse. If, however, the way it works is considered, not why it exists, we should point to the House of Lords as a body consisting of men for the most part arriving at their titles and their privilege late in life; tolerably, not enormously, rich; well educated; and trained for business of all kinds by the management of large estates, by leadership in local affairs, by service in the Army and Navy, and by successful work as lawyers and judges. We may also point to them as a body which exercises its powers as a wholesome restraining or a correcting force, refusing measures on which the opinion of the nation is in doubt, and passing with readiness those on which the voice of the people is clear, even when those measures may seem to threaten their own existence as a separate chamber.

We should also consider that the privileges of this House are exclusively confined to its members, and not to their sons, who are simple commoners, and that the Lords are continually recruited from the world of those who work. Among recent creations, for instance, are Lords Lister, Kelvin, Wolseley, Roberts, Avebury, and Kitchener. It may be objected that these are elementary considerations, and that educated Americans already understand them very well. The readers of THE FORUM no doubt do understand these things. But not all Americans who have a right to call themselves educated understand them, and certainly not those excellent people whom I left at Melrose.

My position, still an elementary one, is this: the only way to learn independently the manners and the mind of a foreign country is to visit it and to converse freely with the people of every class; to observe and to note the things of every day; not to apply too much logic to the action of institutions or powers — humanity cares very little for logic; to get at the native point of view; and to understand

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why institutions which may seem to the traveller an intolerable burden are actually supported with content, and even defended with earnestness. Unless the traveller does his best in this way to understand a people, *cœlum, non animum, mutat.* In that case, as Emerson says, every traveller brings away from his travels just what he took there. In this country the American traveller has the great advantage of speaking its language. The only obstacle to understanding the people as well as their speech is the difficulty of getting at them, coupled with his own perception of the fact that, unless he does get at them personally, his judgments are practically valueless.

I have before me a Philadelphia paper which contains an article written by a recent American traveller in this country. He came over; he travelled about; he observed place and people as well as he could through his American spectacles. The results are so remarkable that I venture to point out some of them. They illustrate, in fact, exactly the prejudices with which the writer travelled, and his complete inability to understand the necessity of learning and comprehending—first, the facts, and, secondly, the reason, the history, and the bearing of the facts.

The writer first speaks of the land. He states that 600 men hold one-third of a country inhabited by forty millions. He spreads himself over this enormity. What are the facts? There are 400,000 landholders in the United Kingdom; the six hundred referred to by the writer of the paper before me are, I suppose, the peers, who own a fifth of the whole; but then this fifth includes all those lands which are incapable of cultivation, such as the barren moors, the wild heaths, the mountains, and the deer forests. These peers receive no more than an eleventh part of the whole income derived from the land. I do not desire to defend any system which allows so large a part of the land to fall into so few hands; but one may at least ask what limits are assigned to the acquisition of property in other countries; and one may, perhaps with English prejudice, remember that one family is, perhaps wrongly, called the landlord of New York.

Our writer had read that there was once a window tax in Great Britain. He believes that it is still in force, and he talks of the "walled up" windows of the cottages as part of the oppression of the poor. The window tax has been repealed for fifty years. During the whole of that time there has been no law to prevent opening as many windows as one pleases.

The farmer, we are told by this author, has a "certain sulky re-

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spect" for the wealth of the landowner. Since most of the landowners have now lost their wealth, this respect is, one supposes, gone. But not yet. "Three or four thousand generations" (*i.e.*, 90,000 or 120,000 years) "of poverty and oppression have benumbed their brains." In those parts of the country where tenant farmers are impoverished their poverty is due to the agricultural depression which has also impoverished the landlords. As for the oppression of generations — a few hundred more or less hardly count — it would make an excellent text for a discourse at a Farmer's Ordinary on Market Day. One would like to be present and to hear their remarks.

The writer in question laments that Englishmen will not "ask the bitter question why their fortune should be so inferior to that of the owners of the princely palace." A great many persons in England, and in every other country of the world, are constantly asking themselves, and each other, this question, some of them with a good deal of acidulation. So far, however, I have not heard of any answer.

It is, of course, the Church of England which is the object of the writer's greatest scorn. He calls it a part of the landed interest. It maintains, we are informed, primogeniture and the game preserves; and the astonished country parson receives rank as a "humbler member" of the aristocracy. Poor country parson! The writer believes, you see, that this country living is always in the gift of the country 'squire; that it is always a fat and a rich living; that it always goes to the 'squire's younger son. He believes this because he has read it somewhere — no doubt in some communication to a newspaper from a person as well informed as himself. It never occurs to such a man to learn what an English country living means; that an income of two or three hundred pounds a year is considered above the average; that the house must be handed over to the successor in good order; that the flock generally contains an impoverished landowner, farmers reduced by agricultural depression, and a number of poor folk who look to the clergyman for help in everything. In many cases the living cannot be held without private means.[1] Livings, he tells his readers, are always bought and sold, with the very odd result that "the vicar sometimes has a drunken wife." I wonder where he picked up this funny little piece of prejudice.

[1] A late friend of mine, who was vicar of a town in the west of England, had about £2,000 a year of his own. He died and with great difficulty a successor was found who was enabled by private means to spend £600 a year upon the parish.

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The patronage of the Church is, of course, though our friend does not know this, mainly in the hands of the bishops. Those livings which are so ordered belong to the Lord Chancellor, to the universities and colleges, to cathedrals, to city companies, and to private persons, and, except for a very small number — a survival of no more than a hundred — all presentations have to be approved by the bishop. The sale of advowsons is rare, and much against public opinion. When one is advertised the Nonconformists wax indignant, and proclaim the fact as a weapon against the Church. No one can present himself to a living; nor can a man buy one for himself; a Jew or a Catholic cannot present. In brief, the general feeling is that the bishop should present clergymen to livings; nothing will ever persuade Anglicans that a congregation should choose its own clergyman. This is done by some of the Nonconformist churches, not, we think, with the happiest results. Our theory is that a clergyman should be a scholar and a theologian; that he should be independent of his congregation; that he should be a person of piety and blameless life; and that such a person is much more likely to be found by the bishop, among the clergy of the diocese, than by a congregation composed mainly of persons who are free from the least suspicion of learning, theology, and scholarship.

My writer, clad in this cloak of prejudice, goes to Hawarden, where Gladstone lived, and where his son is vicar. He sneers at a notice hung up in the church — it is a lovely church, but he has no eyes for its loveliness — asking visitors for their prayers "for the clergy and the people." But why should not Mr. Stephen Gladstone ask for prayers? He certainly believes in the efficacy of prayer. Then my writer sees a young clergyman crossing the churchyard, in haste for the morning service, and he actually says that his "face is evidently flushed with much meat eating and liquor drinking." One is ashamed to quote such an amazing instance of evil thinking as a result of prejudice. I do not know who this young clergyman may be: I would, however, point out that most young clergymen of the day have become total abstainers.

He says, in another place, that the bishop is "one of the lawmakers of the realm." For my own part, seeing that the bishops are, as a rule, very good administrators, and very practical men, I should be pleased if they would attend the House of Lords more; but the affairs of the diocese are more than enough for them. It is only when an ecclesiastical debate is on the tapis that the bishops attend the House.

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To complete this exposure of prejudice, I may add that the writer actually goes out of his way to call by name a most respectable man, who happens to be a peer, a "reformed rake." The commonest prejudice of the half-informed American seems to be that every member of the House of Lords is a profligate. Now, there are certainly dangers and temptations which assail young men of wealth who have nothing to do. Some of them doubtless succumb to these temptations — not because they are heirs to the peerage, but because they are rich and idle. Nor is this liability to temptation peculiar to rich and idle young men in Great Britain alone. But the eldest sons of peers, as a rule, are not rich; nor are they, as a rule, idle, but have a great deal to do. They are in the army; they are managing and farming country estates; they are carrying on the unpaid work of the county, or the country towns. The profligate heir, or the profligate peer, is, for the most part, a thing of the past. Now and then, undoubtedly, there occurs a flagrant case. One reads, for instance, of a late noble marquis who was so fortunate as to be endowed with all the gifts that make a groom, and with all the tastes of a pot-house buffoon. But it should be remembered that this ornament of the House of Lords never dared to show his face in that assembly, and that if the House of Lords contained many persons of his stamp, very short work would be made of it.

I have referred at length to this paper, because it enables me to show how England may look when visited by a person wholly ignorant of the things about which he writes. I acquit him of any intention to deceive. He writes in honest indignation, and in honest contempt. These flights of imaginary oppression and servility illustrate the length of misrepresentation to which ignorance and prejudice may lead such a writer.

The confusion of mind which cannot allow of liberty without ownership of the land is also very oddly illustrated by a pamphlet which I have just received from Canada. The writer is a farmer. From a long experience he writes, recommending Canadian farmers not to expend their capital in buying a farm. He says, in effect, that if you open a shop in a city you do not first spend your capital in buying that shop — that you rent it, and that your capital stocks it and gives you a livelihood. So he advises a similar course with a farm — rent it, and use your capital for the cultivation of the land. My Canadian friend may be quite wrong. I am no agriculturist, but the spectacle of a farm where the land belongs nominally to the

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farmer, and is mortgaged up to the hilt for the stock and the cultivation of the land, is not to me so pleasant as that of a farm occupied by a tenant on easy terms, and with no fear of being turned out. And had our Philadelphia explorer gone, say, into Norfolk, he might have found the opportunity of conversing with tenant farmers, who would have shown him what they think about servility and the "sulky respect" for wealth taught them by "three or four thousand generations."

The foregoing is intended as an introduction showing the reasons why the society called the "Atlantic Union" has been founded. It is not, to begin with, a political institution. A leading American in London said to me, when he discussed the subject, "You must avoid any suspicion of politics; leave politics absolutely alone; otherwise you will fail at the very outset." We have, therefore, no political axe to grind. In whatever guise our visitor presents himself whether as Republican or Democrat, it makes no difference; the qualifications that we ask are indicated in the prospectus of the society. Its objects are to "draw together" — not to make political alliances, or anything of the kind, but simply to "draw together" — in friendliness the English-speaking peoples. Let me quote the words of the prospectus:

"It has long been a matter for concern with those who desire not only to maintain friendly relations with Colonials and Americans, but also to cultivate personal friendships with them, that so many visitors from the United States and the Colonies come over every year, stay for a time in London, travel about the country, and go away without having made the acquaintance of a single English family, and without having entered a single English home. Some of them bring letters of introduction which open certain houses to them, some are of such distinction that all doors are open to them; the greater number, however, carry no such letters, and are not known on this side of the Atlantic. They stay at hotels; they go to places of public amusement; they drive through streets and squares where every door is closed to them; they go away without any knowledge of English life except that which can be gained from the outside.

"The 'Atlantic Union' will be an attempt to meet and to overcome this reproach. It will be the object of the Union to attract, if possible, those who occupy, either in the United States or the Colonies, positions of trust and responsibility, those to whom their own people look to for leading and for guidance. The Union desires to make the English members acquainted with those who help to form public opinion in the Colonies and the States. In order that this object may be carried out, it is essential that the English members shall themselves belong to the class of those who make and lead public opinion in this country. Membership in the Union will, therefore, be offered only to such persons as can satisfy more or less this condition. It will include, therefore, statesmen, clergymen, men of science, art, and literature, journalists, artists, actors, architects, professors, lecturers, teachers, and, in a word, all professional men, together with leaders in the world of finance and commerce."

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With this object in view, the promoters have endeavored to form a council roughly representative in character. The Houses of Parliament, the Church, Law, Scholarship, Science, Education, Art, Literature are represented in the council as it already appears — it must be remembered that it is by no means complete, and that at present the Union is only a few months old. For instance, the Church is represented by the Primate of Ireland, the Dean of Canterbury, and the Dean of Rochester; the House of Lords by Lords Aberdare, Coleridge, Kinnaird, and Monkswell; the House of Commons by Sir Michael Foster, Sir John Kennaway, Captain Pretyman, and Mr. Yoxall; the Law by Lords Monkswell and Coleridge, and Dr. Alexander Hill, the Master of Downing College, Cambridge; Scholarship by Abbott, Oscar Browning, and Magrath; Science by Sir Michael Foster, secretary of the Royal Society; Education by the Masters of Cheltenham, Haileybury, and Wellington; Art by the Director of the National Portrait Gallery; Literature and Journalism by Sir Martin Conway, Dr. Conan Doyle, Dr. Richard Garnett, Sir Lewis Morris, and Mr. P. W. Clayden, President of the Institute of Journalists and late editor of the "Daily News." This is a very fair list to have got together in so short a time. It does not include the home members, whose numbers are increasing and will certainly continue to increase as the association becomes better known.

The important question, however, remains, What is the Atlantic Union going to do for the American visitors? In the first place, the home members, who have pledged themselves to nothing definite, are expected to do anything that comes in their way for these visitors. But the committee of the Union will draw up every year a programme of social functions. It will include dinners of the members, say, once a month; receptions and "At Homes;" evening parties, lectures, and concerts; the personal conduct of parties to places of interest; and, with the coöperation of the various scientific, literary, and archæological societies in the country, evenings or days of interest to specialists. The committee will arrange for the introduction of visitors to members. The latter will understand that it is desirable, above all, that their friends should carry away with them true views of English life and the old country, and should learn to understand that many things which seem out of harmony with American ideas may yet be suited to the English mind.

It has been pointed out by several Americans that these services should be rendered to visitors as a right, acquired by joining the So-

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ciety as paying members, and not as a gift. Of course, invitations to private houses can never be a right, but the annual programme of the Society might and should be a right. Therefore, a subscription has been fixed: membership will mean the payment of one guinea. But there are cases in which representative bodies come over in companies. The committee reserve the power of treating these cases in a separate and distinct way.

The programme for this, the first, season is necessarily small: the Union has been invited to dine at the Authors' Club and at Claridge's Hotel. Mr. Yoxall, M.P., has taken a party over the House of Commons, and Lord Monkswell another over the House of Lords. It will be understood that under this personal guidance visitors see a great deal more than is shown in the ordinary way. The Royal Geographical Society has invited the Union to one of its evenings. A reception has been offered at the Salon, and a garden party by the wife of the treasurer. Oxford and Cambridge are to be visited under the guidance of resident University professors. The cathedrals of Canterbury and Rochester are to be shown by the Deans. The principal of Cheltenham College invited a number of the members to witness the international cricket match between Haverford College, Philadelphia, and the boys of Cheltenham.

These things may seem small, but they are a beginning. We have great hopes that the Union will spread; that it will find plenty of work for its members — work that should be of a most pleasing and delightful kind; and that the Union may be regarded on the other side of the Atlantic simply as a body which invites American visitors to learn, by intercourse with our people, how we live, and why we have adopted our own way of living.

Speaking from my own experience, it has been my good fortune, on one or two occasions, to take a few American visitors to various parts of London, and to point out to them some of the historical associations which belong to the places we visited. It is not to be expected that Americans should have much knowledge of the history of London; but the interest taken in these perambulatory discourses is really remarkable, particularly when, as is the case with the "Players' Land," on the south of the river, or with Thames Street, on the north, there is nothing now to be seen but warehouses and quays. It is with the eye of the imagination that the past has to be restored. Yonder, on that site, there was once a tavern; there sat and sang Kit Marlowe and Massinger and Beaumont and the two Shakespeares —

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one of the latter lies buried in the noble church hard by. The tavern overlooks the river; as you gaze, the dome of St. Paul's over the river becomes a tower; the warehouses become gabled houses with projecting fronts; the noisy river steamer becomes a state barge; fishermen cast their nets in the stream; and the poets sit on the wooden platform, above the river, each with his cup of sack before him, a cheerful company, with the tinkle of the guitar and the lusty voice of one who sings. This company — this revival — belongs to the Americans as well as ourselves; it is their heritage as well as ours. Let the Atlantic Union do something toward restoring to them their share in the memories of the past. Whittington bought and sold in Thames Street: he entertained kings in College Street. All this was long before the Declaration of Independence. Let us revive in the minds of our American visitors the things which are theirs as well as ours, although they may have forgotten them.

But, above all, the chief aim of the Union, it must be repeated again and again, is to give visitors from the United States an opportunity of observing English manners, of studying the English mind, and of learning for themselves why we intend to adhere to the order and to the customs which seem to them incompatible with freedom and the gospel of Popular Election. WALTER BESANT.

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